



# KANGURA

N°39

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO  
KURENGERA RUBANDA  
NYAMWINSHI.

100 FRW

Mutarama 1993

## ARUSHA IDUKURURIYE INTAMBARA Y'AMOKO



- MRND na MDR zirebye nabi zasenyukira muri CDR na FPR.
- BURUNDI : Buyoya mu mazi abira.
- Abatutsi barifuriza CDR kuja muri Guverinoma kugira ngo bagire amahoro.
- GISENYI : Abaturage bijunditse Commandat BIZIMANA.

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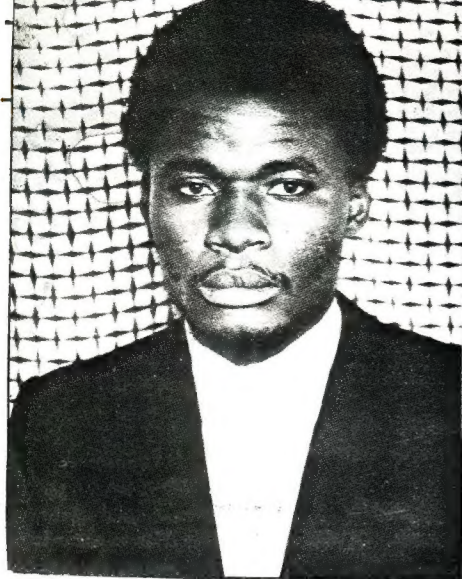
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Rwanda rugezemo byo byakemurwa na Rurema. Intambara igitangira, inyenzi zaje zitwaje "demokarasi". Ntibiteye kabiri, iyo ntambara inyenzi zashoje ihinduka iy'amashyaka none dore igeze hagati ihindutse iy'amoko. Muti ibyo bije bite.

Niba inyenzi zivugaga ko zije kurenge ubusugire bw'impunzi zahunze MDR Parmehutu ya cyera ariwo murage wa CDR y'ubu, ntawahakana ko ziba zitavugira abatutsi bese. Kandi ntawarwanya FPR kurenge inyungu z'abatutsi nkuko CDR irengera iz'abahutu aho bari hose. Gusa icyo twe tutemera ni uburyo FPR yanyuze mu kurenge izo nyungu kuko yabangamiye iz'acu cyane cyane mu kutututsa ubuzima.

**Ngo akebo kajya iwamugarura.**

FPR yerekanye uburakari bwayo iratera, irica, ivana abantu mu byabo. Andi mashyaka nayo avugaga ko ahari nira ihinduka ry'ibintu ahitamo gufatanyaga na FPR. Nuko nayo ajya mu mihanda ariba, arica, arasenyaga kugeza

ubwo ubwo bugome bwaje gutuma yinjizwa muri guverinoma. Kubera ko mu ntegano z'iyi guverinoma harimo gushyikirana na FPR, ubwo nta kindi cyakozwe usibye guheza amashyaka avugira rubanda nyamwinshi nka CDR. Impamvu turagarukaho. Gusa icyo twe tubona kandi ari nacyo duheraho tuvugaga ko mu Rwanda hariye kubabwira intambara y'amoko ni ibi bikurikira:

1:-Nta kuntu abahutu bazihangana kumva ko ishyamba rirengeraga inyungu zabo ryahejwe mu butegetsi bahawe na revolusiyo yo mu w'1959.

2:-Kubera ko CDR yanyuze mu nzira ya demokarasi, ibitekerezo byayo bikanga kumvwa, bigaragara ko abaturage aribo bagomba guhitamo inzira banyuramo yatuma haba indi mishyikirano yabageza ku butegetsi. Bashobora gukora ibyo MDR PARMEHUTU ya cyera yakoze cyangwa se bagakora ibyo MDR ya Twagiramungu yakoze. Bitashoboka nabo bagafata intwari nk'uko FPR yabigenje maze bakabona bagashyirwa muri Guverinoma. Ibyo byose biroroshye ku bahutu bacengewe n'icyatumye abatutsi bahungaga n'uburyo bakoresheje mu itahuka.

**Icyo FPR itekereza.**

FPR izi neza ko abahutu bese ari bamwe, ko batekereza bimwe usibye ko batanyuze mu nzira imwe. Aha natanga urugero ku ijamba Ministiri w'Intebe yavugiyemo ku Kibuye yibutsa ko ashobora gushyirwa ku mupaka ingabo z'abahutu maze inyenzi ntizinjire. FPR izirikana buri gihe diskuru zose zavuzwe ubwo MDR yavukaga iga-

shyirwa muri Guverinoma. Izo mvugo zose nizo zituma FPR ibaza MDR uko byagenda Habyarimana barwana avuyeho? Ibyo byose nibyo byatumye FPR itahura ko muri MDR hari ibice bitatu.

a) igice kigizwe n'abahutu batekereza nka KAYIBANDA ariyemo cy'aba CDR yihishe muri MDR.

b) igice kigizwe n'inyenzi ziri inyuma ya Twagiramungu.

c) igice kigizwe na ba NSENGIYAREMYE n'abandi bashakaga gukora no kwirira.

Iyo FPR ibajije MDR ibyo bibazo, ihitamo kwicecekeraga ivugaga ko bizakosorwa.

**Amizero y'u Rwanda ni ay'ahere?**

Nta yandi usibye gushyirwa CDR muri guverinoma. Bitashoboka abaturage bakanyura mu nzira ariya mashyamba yanyuzemo ariyo FPR, MDR, PL, na PSD. Udashakaga ko u Rwanda ruba nka SOMALIYA, Liberiya n'ahandi yaheza CDR muri guverinoma. Gusa abahutu tugashyigikira ko mu mashyamba y'abatutsi twakomeza kugiramo udukingirizo tw'ibitso by'abahutu nka ba MBONAMPEKA, MUGENZI muri PL, KANYARENGWE, RIZINDE muri FPR, GATABAZI, NZAMURAMBAHO muri PSD.

Tuzemera tumene amaraso turi benshi ariko abasigaye bagire amizero y'iminsi izaza. Kuko ubutwari FPR yagize ntibuzatunanira kandi turi 85 ku ijana by'abatuye uru Rwanda.

NGEZE Hassan

NGEZE Hassan

Umuhanzi mu Biro Bikuru by'Ishyamba C.D.R. KIGALI

Le 21/01/1993

Impamvu: Gutunganya ibitekerezo byagiriye abahutu akamara.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa MRND mu rwego rw'igihugu.

Nyakubahwa Fondateri wa MRND.

Mw'izina ryanjye bwite, no kuba ndi umwe mu banyarwanda bazobereye Politike y'ibi bihe turimo, byongeye kandi nkaba ndi umwe mu banyarwanda bashinze itangazamakuru ryigenga tutaretse no kuba naragiriwe icyizere n'abanyarwanda benshi, mubyo mvugaga nkoresha ugusesengura ibihe, mpereye ku mutima nama wanjye, no kuba mbere yo kujya gufatanyaga n'abandi Bahutu mu kurwana ku gihugu cyacu cyari cyugarijwe n'umwanzi, nkaba nari narabaye igihe kirekire muri MRND mu gihe cy'amahoro. Nkaba narakunze kugaragaza ko Abahutu batiyunze ngo bafatanye, akaba kaba gashobotse. Nkaba narabaye umwe mu banyarwanda bagukunda by'umwihariko ndetse nkaba narafunzwe kenshi ari mwe nzira, kuko icyo nafungwaga n'umwanzi ari mwe nazaraga. Ibyo bikaba bitarigeze narimwe binca intega. None nagiraga ngo mbasabe inkunga yo kwakira ibitekerezo byanjye, kuko byatuma ubwonko bw'abahutu bwizera iminsi izaza, ndetse n'amahoro ku moko atatu atuye u Rwanda, agasugira, agasagamba.

Duhereye kw'ishusho ya MRND.

MRND ni ishyamba mwashinze ngo rihuze abanyarwanda: Abahutu, Abatwa, Abatutsi. Intego yayo iba Ubumwe-Amahoro-Amajyambere, nyamara mwabonye ko ubwo bumwe, abatutsi batigeze babubashimira. None tukaba dusanga muri MRND hari ibice bine aribyo ibi bikurikira:

1. Hari aba MRND k'umubiri ariko k'umutima ari aba CDR
2. Hari aba MRND k'umubiri ariko k'umutima ari aba FPR
3. Hari abasabiye imbehe na MRND ya kera, ubu bakaba bari mu myanya yabo ariko badakunda MRND y'ubu, ndetse batanagaragaza ko bashyigikiye Habyarimana.
4. Hari urubiruko rwa MRND (Interahamwe) zikunda Habyarimana aho yajya hose, mw'ishyamba iryo ariryo ryose, ari nabo batuma MRND ibaho.

Ibyo bice byose icyo ububumbiye hamwe niho ubona ishusho ya MRND bikaba bigoye kubihuza kuko byishushanyaga, kandi ubuyobozi bushya budashoboye guhindura mu myanya abo badakorera ishyamba. Nyuma y'iryo sesengura nifuzaga kubasaba ko, niba musanze guhuza ibyo bice bigoye mwadutera inkunga muduha biriya bice bibiri bikaza kurwana ku gihugu bifatanije n'abandi muri CDR. Ibyo bice mwaduha ni Interahamwe na babandi



baba muri MRND ariko ku mutima ari CDR. Ibyo musanze bidashoboka, mwadukorera ibi bikurikira: Kubera ko amasezerano ya Arusha yanga ko CDR iya muri guverinoma kandi guverinoma ya Arusha ishobora kujyaho mu kwezi kwa gatandatur'uuyu mwaka, twasabaga ko mu gihe icyo guverinoma ya Arusha itarajyaho mwategeka abaministri banyu kwegura muri iriya guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye maze ya myanya icyenda MRND ifite ubu ikaduhamo enye bityo hagahinduka ingingo imwe muzigize ya masezerano yashyizeho iriya guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye kuko yari agizwe na MRND-MDR-PL-PSD na PDC ubwo haba hiyongeyemo na CDR. ibyo biroroshye niba koko ibyo MRND ivuga ko ishigikiye CDR byaba bivuye mu magambo noneho bishyizwe mu bikorwa.

Kandi bigaragara ko aribwo byaba byiza kurushaho. Ubu FPR irabaza impamvu MRND itahaye imyanya CDR none akaba ariho MRND iri gusabira CDR kujiya muri guverinoma bivuye ARUSHA.

Impamvu kujiya muri guverinoma y'ubu byadufasha ni uko Arusha itazongera kuduheza, kuko natwe noneho tuzaba turi muri guverinoma. icyo gihe twahabwa MININTER-MINAEDEF-MINISANTE-MINIFOP. Ubwo izisigaye zikaba iza MRND. Ubwo MRND yaba igaragaje ko irengera rubanda koko. Ubwo na CDR ikabona aho ikorera irwana ku nyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. Ibyo bidashobotse CDR yahitamo kuba yonyine irengera inyungu z'abahutu aho bari hose. Amashyaka arimo abahutu ku bwinshi yagombye kumvikana, ntasenye Igihugu cyabo, kuko bishimisha umwanzi wabo.

NGEZE Hassan

Umujyanama mu biro bikuru by'ishyamba CDR

## MDR NA MRND ZIZASENYUKIRA MURI CDR NA FPR

Abantu benshi bakomeje kwi-baza kuri aya mashyaka, uko ateye ubu n'uko azaba ameze nyuma y'itahuka ry'inyenzi. Hakaba hari na benshi bibaza icyo CDR ihuriyeho n'andi mashyaka arimo abahutu. Yewe banageza n'aho bibaza icyo ihuriro rya MRND na CDR rimaze. Ngo MRND yagiye mu ihuriro igamije kurwana ku mbehe yayo. Ngo nta rundi rukundo ifitiye CDR. CDR nayo ngo yemeye kubana na MRND itegereje ko bafatanyarwanya umwanzi. Ibyo byose abasomyi bacu mwibaza nibyo bitumye twiyemeza kubagezaho icyo ayo mashyaka yose apfana.

### MRND ITEYE ITE ?

Iryo shyamba ririmo abantu b'ibice bine. Bose batavugaga rumwe ku bibazo bibugaraje, bitaretse n'iki gihugu. Ibyo bice ni ibihe ?

a) Muri MRND harimo abantu bari muri iryo shyamba ku mubiri gusa ariko ku mutima bibereye muri CDR, bagatinye kubyerura no kuva muri MRND ngo Ikinani kidasigara cyonyine. Ikibabaje ni uko n'iyi CDR bavugaga ko bashyigikiye ntacyo bayimariye ku bitekerezo no mu bikorwa.

b) Igice cya kabiri kigizwe n'abantu bihishye muri MRND ariko bibereye muri FPR mu bitekerezo no mu bikorwa.

c) Igice cya gatatu kigizwe n'abantu bibereye muri MRND ari ukwihahira gusa. Badakunda Habyarimana ndetse n'ishyamba. Abo bantu bafite n'imyanya ikomeye babonye MRND igitegeka iki gihugu yonyine. None bikaba byarananiranye kubatsimbura muri icyo myanya ari

naho bamwe bahera bavugaga ko MRND y'ubu ntaho itaniye n'iya kera.

d) Igice cya kane kigizwe n'Interahamwe ziyemeje gushyigikiye Habyarimana kugeza ku munota wa nyuma, yewe n'iyi yayivamo zo zayisigaramo. N'aho iryo shyamba rigeze ubu ni ukubera Interahamwe zikora ibishoboka byose ngo MRND igume ku isonga. Nyamara se muri zo hari uwo Habyarimana yagabiye. Mu bayiriyeye se hari Interahamwe yahawemo n'ijana ? Ibyo bice byose uko ari bine nibyo bigize MRND «ivuguruye».

### TUBYIBAZE HO !

Ibi twanditse biratuma buri muyobokeye wa MRND amenya uruhande arimo. Aribaza icyo MRND izamumarira. Birababaje kubona abakorera MRND iyo bahuye n'ibyo itabarwanaho ku buryo bugaragara. None se bishoboka gute ko Minisitiri y'ingabo yaba itegukwa na MRND, nyamara abayobokeye bayo akaba ari bo ibuzama hwe ? Twavugaga nko kubagira impunzi mu ngo zabo nka za Remera n'ahandi, nka ba NGIRABATWARE, SETIBA, MUGESERA n'abandi... Bishoboka bite ko KANGURA yaba yarafunzwe inshuro zirenze makumyabiri kandi ngafungwa na ba minisitiri ba MRND bari muri icyo gice gishyigikiye FPR, MRND ntikomeye kandi ariyo naburiraga ? Ntibyumvikana kandi ukuntu abayobozi ba MRND ari nabo bamaganye KANGURA kurusha uko FPR iyamagana. Ese icyo MRND iba ishamba ritekereza rigashyira mu gaciro, imyaka KANGURA yakoranye na MRND

mbere y'uko amashyamba avuka ntiyari ihagije ngo KANGURA iterwe inkunga ? Kuri icyo kibazo ntawarirenganya kuko igice gishyigikiye FPR muri MRND aricyo gifite ingufu. Abakiri bazima muri MRND urebye neza wasanga ari mbarwa.

### BITE SE MURI MDR ?

Muri MDR harimo ibice bitatu bitavugaga rumwe ari nabyo bituma iryo shyamba ridashobora kugira icyo rigeraho usibye imvururu.

Igice cya mbere kirimo abayobokeye bake baze bazi ko ari MDR PARMEHUTU. Babonye ko bidashoboka kandi batagomba kujarajara bahitamwo kuba MDR ku by'urwiyerutso naho ku mutima ari CDR nsa. Akaba ari nabo batanga imfashanyo ifasha CDR kugera ku byo yiyemeje.

Igice cya kabiri kigizwe n'abayobokeye b'abahutu bazi akamaro ka revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959 yabagiriye, bababazwa n'ibyo inyenzi zadukoreye muri icyo ntambara. Bakaba baragiye muri MDR kubera ko batumvikana na Habyarimana ku bibazo bimwe na bimwe nko gukundwakaza abatutsi agakabya, abegurira umutungo w'igihugu, amashuri... Muri iki gice naho twashyiraga abatavugaga rumwe na Habyarimana kubera ko ubutegetsi bwe bwatumye bafungwa. Ariko ntibibabuzaga gutekereza nka CDR ndetse bakaba biteguye gufatanyarwanya nayo igihe cyose byaba ngombwa. Igice cya gatatu kigizwe n'abayobokeye bayobowe na TWAGIRAMUKUNGU ukorera Inkotanyi aharanira ko revolisiyo yo mu w'1959 yasi-



bangana. Ibyo nibyo yise MDR i-shyaka ry'umuco. Ikibabaje rero ni uko Twagiramungu n'inyenzi ze aribo bafite ingufu muri MDR, ari nabo bafata ibyemezo bidakuka.

### UKO BYIFASHE MURI CDR.

Impuzamugambi zagize amahirwe yo kuboneka mu mashyamba yose ureke ibyo bavugaga ngo CDR iravangura. Abahutu ni ubwoko bumwe ntibugomba kuvangurwa. Nkuko abatutsi nabo ari ubwoko bumwe butavangurwa. CDR yavutse nta butegetsi ifite, yahaniraga gusa inyungu z'abahutu. Abahutu ariko bakibuka gukeberaho abatutsi (ku butegetsi) n'abatwaha hakurikijwe uko bangana. Abanyaburayi ntibakaturyobye kuko n'iwabo abenshi nibo bategeka, ba nyakamwe bagahabwa ibibakwiriyeho hakurikije umubare wabo. Abayoboze biganje muri CDR ku bi-



kubitiro bavuye muri MDR na MRND n'abandi bari barabuze i-shyamba ryabagwa ku mutima. Kwifatanya kwa MDR na FPR byafashije CDR mu kugira abayoboke muri MDR. Bikaba bigaragara ko igihe cyose inyenzi zizakomeza kugaragaza ubugome bwazo, bya bice bibiri bidakorana n'umwanzi byazaza kwifatanya

na CDR. Gusa CDR nayo igakomeza gushakisha ibyitso by'abahutu mu buyobozi bwo hejuru bw'amashyamba y'abatutsi nk'uko bimeze muri FPR iyoborwa na KANYARENGWE na BIZIMUNGU, PL ifite MUGENZI na MBONAMPEKA, PSD, iyoborwa na NZAMURAMBAHO na GATABAZI...

Komeza urup. 8

## NAROSE ABAHUTU BATSINDA

Basomyi, nshuti zacu, Bahutu bene wacu, ntimutangazwe n'uko iyi nimeru ya 39 ya KANGURA ibagezeho itinze. Hari hashize igihe kirekire mutabona ikinyamakuru cyanyu dore ko nimeru ya nyuma mwayiherukaga muri Kanama 1992. Ikinyamakuru cyanyu KANGURA gikomeje kugambanirwa na Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE akigabiza «umushingantahe» Major Petero Buyoya wagambiriye kuri mbura abahutu iyo bava bakagera. Buyoya afatanije na Guverinoma ya Veterineri NSENGIYAREMYE bakoze uko bashoboye ngo banige ijwi rigamije gukangura no kurenganura rubanda nyamwinshi birananirana.

Burya koko ukuri guca mu ziko ntigushye kandi ukuri kuzatsinda. Uvuze ko nyiri urugo yapfuye siwe uba yamwishe. Bavuga n'ibigaramye, imihoro ikarakara. Na Buyoya ni uko.

None se abahutu b'i Burundi bazakomeza bapfe duceceka ngo tudahungabanya umubano «mwiza» uranga u Rwanda n'u Burundi? Abahutu bazakomeza gushira duceceke ngo tudatetereza «ubwu-

mvikane» buri hagati y'ibihugu bigize Umuryango w'Ubukungu w'Ibihugu bituriye Ibiyaga bigari (CEPGL)? Ibyo ari byo byose, intambara abahutu turwana tuzayitsinda. Tuzayitsindisha ubumwe bw'abahutu. Kugambanirwa, abahutu baracyagambanirwa.

Abahutu b'i Burundi twavugaga ko ari bo bagatoye kurusha abandi. Dore ko bagikandamizwa kuva ku ngoma za cyami kugeza na n'ubu muri Repubulika ntutsi ya gatatu. Micombero niwe wavugaga ngo «uzompusha sinzomuhusha». Ubwo ni abahutu bahagwaga. Bagaza yitwikira ibibazo yari afitanye na Kiriziya yoreka imbaga y'abahutu. Petero Buyoya akomeza umurage wa bakuru be, abahutu bakomeza gupfa muri politiki yise «ubumwe bw'abarundi».

Ibihe turimo birakomeye. Ntabwo twagendera kuri ya mvugo ngo niba umuntu agukubise urushyi ku musaya umwe ngo umutege undi agukubite urundi rushyi. Niba umuntu agukubise urushyi, nta kindi aba ashaka uretse kukurimbura. Ihagarareho muhangane.

Abahutu b'i Burundi nibahagurukire rimwe bigobotore ingoyi y'abatutsi. Kandi bazabigeraho kuko ari bo benshi. Nibuke igitutu Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo bemere ku mugaragaro ishyamba rya rubanda nyamwinshi PALIPEHUTU. Niyo byaba ngombwa ko haba ibitambo, Revolisiyo niko imera.

Mu Rwanda, ibyo abahutu bari bagezeho babikesha revolisiyo ya rubanda nyamwinshi yo muri 1959 barebye nabi byagenda nka nyomberi. Ibikorera Arusha biteye impungenge ku buryo Abahutu bari bakwiye gukangura bagahaguruka hakiri kare bakarengeza inyungu zabo. Ubundi demokarasi bivugaga ko ubutegetsi butangwa n'abaturage bugakorera abaturage. «Demokarasi yo mu Rwanda iteye ukundi. None se ko rubanda ihezwa mu butegetsi, haka-ba hagiye gutegeka abatutsi nyakamwe b'inyenzi, iki gihugu kiragana he?

N'ubwo bwose Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE yarangije kugurisha igihugu ikigabira umwanzu, rubanda nyamwinshi izihaga-



raraho. Iyo guverinoma yohereje gatumwa NGULINZIRA kugambanira abahutu ngo basubire mu bucakara, ku ngoyi ya cyami na gihake, izisinyeho ingaruka zabyo. Umunsi rubanda nyamwinshi yahagurutse (kandi ni vuba aha) ika-

rengera inyungu zayo, ntihazagire utaka !

Abatutsi bari baratse, umurengwe wabo wabona ubageze habi. Ibihutu by'ibibwa (ibytso) nabyo rubanda nyamwinshi izabifatira ibyemezo. Aka wa mupasitori w'u-

mwirabura w'umunyamerika, Martin Luther King wavuze ati : « I have a dream... (narose)... Narose abahutu batsinda kandi bazatsinda uko byamera kose.

NGEZE Hassan.

## NGULINZIRA NASHYIKIRIZWE URUKIKO RWA RUBANDA

Minisitiri w'u Rwanda ushinze ububanyi n'amahanga (nako ushinze ubugambanyi n'inkotanyi), Bonifasi NGULINZIRA akubutse arusha, yari handagaje abeshya rubanda ngo avuye gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro. Nyamara azi neza ko yari avuye kugambanira igihugu. Ereka ntiyagira n'isoni zo kuvuga ngo azasubiraye tariki ya 25 Mutarama 1993 gusinyira ko ingabo z'inyenzi zashyirwa mu ngabo z'u Rwanda n'itahuka ry'inyenzi. Akiyibagiza ko rubanda nyamwinshi ifite ijamba rimwe izamwibariza.

NGULINZIRA arasetse iyo avugaga ko azaniye u Rwanda amahoro. Yabanye akayizana. Ariyanze se we usigaye arara abundabunda, Minisitiri muzima ! Inkuru yarakwiriyeye muri Kigali ko NGULINZIRA akiva Arusha kugambanira igihugu, rubanda yahemukiye yari imucakiye kugira ngo imwibarize iby'ubwo bugambanyi. Amahirwe yagize, ibytso bye biba byarimwibiye arara mu gasozi. None ubu asigaye yihisha nk'umugizi wa nabi. Ngo yaba atakigendera mu modoka ye y'akazi. Yasabye ko abajandarume bamurinda. Ubu hari peleton nzima yirirwa kwa NGULINZIRA i muhira. Kuri Minisitiri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga ho wangirango ni mu kigo cya jandarumori cyangwa se muri Etat-Major yayo. Uretse ko ari hahandi, na ba Moussa Traore (Mali), Nicolai Ceausescu (Rumaniya) bashatse gucika igihugu, rubanda yarabacakiye ibacira urubakwiriyeye.

NGULINZIRA kuba yihisha ni uko azi ibibi yakoze. Yarangiye gusinyira ko rubanda nyamwinshi yahazwaga mu butegetsi hagatega inyenzi n'amashyamba akorera mu kwaha kwazo. Kandi ibyo byose akabikora atari na guverinoma (avugaga ko ahagarariye nibura yamutumye. NGULINZIRA nta n'imbabazi agirira byibuze bene

nyina (baba cyangwa bahunze) muri komini Butaro inkotanyi zigaruriye.

Hanze aha, abantu bakomeje kwibaza niba imishyikirano y'Arusha itari ikwiye kuba ihagaze. Mu gihe n'ibya-shyizweho umukono rubanda nyamwinshi ibyamagana, si cyo gihe cyo gukomeza gusinyira ibindi bitazubahirizwa. Dore ko mbere na mbere byari bizwi ko nta kintu kizima cyari kuva Arusha. None se si inyenzi zisinyira n'izindi nyenzi ? Igitangaza abantu muri iriya mishyikirano y'Arusha ni uko usanga inyenzi Nkotanyi n'amashyamba ari muri guverinoma y'ubu, bihutira kugabana ubutegetsi nk'aho ari cyo kibazo kihutirwa. Kurusha abantu barenga ibihumbi magana atanu (500.000) bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara bakaba bangara batagira aho baba. Mbese barahindutse impunzi mu gihugu cyabo.

Birababaje kubona abajya Arusha batagira icyo bavugaga ku buryo abantu bazasubizwa mu byabo, inyenzi zigabije. Ngo zaba zaranatangiye gutuzamo bene wazo babaga muri Uganda. Inyenzi kuki batazibaza impamvu zikirasa ku baturage b'inzirakarengane ? Ko ntawigeze akoma igihe ziherutse kumisha ibisasu bya rutura ku baturage mu Ruhengeri hagapfa abantu barenga umunani ? Ahubwo bihuriye kuzishimira bazigabira indi minisitiri muri za zindi ebyiri zari zisigaye kugabana ?

None ngo tariki ya 25 Mutarama 1993 Minisitiri NGULINZIRA azasubira Arusha gusinyira Inkotanyi kwinjira mu ngabo z'igihugu no gutahuka kw'inyenzi zahunze. Azabaze ! Uretse no mu Rwanda, nta handi kw'isi byashobotse ! Ingero sizo zibuze. Urugero rwa hafi ni Angola aho abasirikari ba Savimbi (UNITA) n'abaguverinoma (MPLA) bananiranywe kubana. Nyuma y'uko izo ngabo zombi zikoreye umutwe umwe, zarashwanye, ubu

imirwano ni yose. Kandi twibuke ko ingabo za guverinoma y'Angola n'iza Savimbi zose zigizwe n'abanyangola kavukire banafatanyije kugubotora igihugu cyabo bakakivana mu maboko y'abanya portugal. Nkanswe twe duhangana n'abantu abenshi tutazi n'iyobaturuka !

Hari n'amakuru yemeza ko ubundi abanyarwanda bari mu ngabo z'inkotanyi ari bake cyane, abenshi ni abacanshuro baturutse muri Uganda (indiri yazo) Zaire, Burundi, Tanzania n'ahandi.....

Uretse n'ibyo, inyenzi iyo bazibajije abasirikari zifite ziraruka zikarumira. Zikarata gusa ngo zifite ku Mulindi. Bazibaza iby'ingirwa ofisiye zabo zose zitwa za «commander» (umuyobozi, umutegetsi. Biva ku cyongereza «to comand : gutegeka, kuyobora»), zikavugaga ngo murabashaka ho iki ko iwanyu ntaho mugira. Wareba kandi koko ugasanga bifite ishingiro kuko mu nyenzi ushobora kuba «commander, captain, Major» rimwe na rimwe utazi gusoma no kwandika ! Biterwa ngo n'abantu wishe ku rugamba, igihe umaze mu ishyamba.... Ntibitangajwe rero «General-Major» Fred Rwigyema yari umushoferi wa Museveni, akaba ariwe washakaga gutegeka u Rwanda. Ahandi ikibazo cyo kwinjira ingabo za FPR mu ngabo z'u Rwanda kigorera, ni uko bizaba ngombwa kugabanya abasirikari ku mpande zombi.

Reka rero FPR bazayibwire ibyo kugabanya ingabo zayo ibatere utwatsi ! Muri ya mayeri yayo ngo bireba abasirikari b'u Rwanda gusa bo bafite benshi. Ntibwaba bubaye ubwa mbere. None se wamutwe w'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye GOMN ntiwasabye inyenzi ngo zisubire inyuma ho kilometero imwe n'igice kugira ngo ubone aho ukorera zikagarama ngo ingabo z'u Rwanda aba ari zo zisubira inyuma ngo zo zifite hanini !



Ikindi kandi ntibyumvikana ukuntu ingabo z'u Rwanda bazigabanyanga barashakira kwinjira inkotanyi. Nibareke abasirikari b'u Rwanda uko bakabaye kuko niba bararwanye ku busugire bw'igihugu, inyiturano si ukubirukana ngo bajye guhinga ibishanga, aka wa mutegetsi. Mu gihe inkotanyi zizaba ziryoshye mu byo zi-

takoreye. Tubona inzira ishoboka kugira ngo inkotanyi zibabarirwe zijye mu ngabo z'igihugu ari uko inkotanyi nyarwanda koko zasaba nk'abandi banyarwanda kujya mu ngabo z'igihugu hakurikijwe amategeko na discipline birenga inzirabwoba. Ku byerekeye itahuka ry'impunzi ni ngombwa rwose ko ikibazo cy'abo inyenzi zirukanye

mu byabo babisubizwamo vuba. Muri y'uko biga uko inyenzi zizataha Twizere ko NGULINZIRA non atazapfa gusinya gusa. Dore ko n'ibyo yise amasezerano y'amahoro nababari bikwiye gusubirwamo. Kere nawe niba ashakira kuba impunzi. Yara vuba rubanda nyamwinshi itari yamucakira ngo imucire urumukwiye.

## «AMASEZERANO» Y'ARUSHA NI COUP D'ETAT MU ZINDI

Twari tuziko igihe cya Coup d'Etat cyarangiyeye. Nyamara ni ukwibeshya! Nk'uko bikunze kuvugwa; buriyama teka aho agaruka. Abafaransa nibababivuze neza bagira bati: "L'Histoire est un éternel recommencement". Amateka atubwira ko abami b'abatutsi bahiritse ku ngufu ingoma z'abahutu. Banabategeka ibinyejana bine ni ukuvuga imyaka magana aye yose! Kugeza aho rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu yivumburiye, yigobotora iyo ngoyi. Repubulika iravuka, demokarasi ihabwa intebe. Nyamara abaturutsi ntibigeze bashirwa, bakomeje gutera u Rwanda bashakira kurugira ingaruzwamuheto. Buri gihe ugashyamba rubanda nyamwinshi y'abanyarwanda iri maso. None bararusungiriye bitwikiriye "demokarasi".



Uwavugaga ko "amasezerano" y'Arusha ari Coup d'Etat mu zindi ntiyabaye yibeshye. FPR-Inkotanyi n'amashyamba ayikorera ariyo M.D.R., P.S.D., P.L... yihereye Arusha (Tanzania) agambanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. FPR yataye u Rwanda ibeshya ko ishaka kuzana demokarasi mu Rwanda. Nyamara byaje kugaragara ko rwari urwitwazo kuko yashakaga gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu, biyinyaniye, ihimba ko irwanira demokarasi.

### Ibanga rya FPR.

Burya hari igihe n'iterabwoba rifasha! Itegeko nshinga rishya u Rwanda rugenderaho riteganyaga ibyangombwa amashyamba ya politiki agomba kuzura kugira ngo yemerwe. icya mbere ni ukwiyandikisha muri Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, ukeretse amatwara yawe ya politiki, kwiyemeza kudatara igihugu n'ibindi. Muri ibyo byose icyo FPR yujuje ni ukuba yarafashe intwari igatera u Rwanda. Mbese urebye ni umutwe w'ingabo, nawo w'urugomo! Ukuntu

uwo mutwe waje kwemerwa ukabashyamba rya politiki ni amayobera! Ahari ni uko abanyarwanda bari barambabwe urusaku rw'imbunda rwa buri gihe bagapfa kwemera kuko ibibi birutanywa.

FPR ibonye imaze kwemerwa ku ngufu bya burembe, itari ahasigaye ni ukugabana ubutegetsi nyubahiriza tegeko (abaminisitiri) na nshinga tegeko (abadepte). Kandi ibyo bigakorwanta matora ndetse n'abavugaga Rukokoma bararuka bararumira. FPR itari kandi iryo gabana rikaba ririba amashyamba atanu ari muri guverinoma gusa! Andi yose ahezwa atyo. Ni uko MRND bayibeshyeshye imyanya 5, amashyamba akorera mu kwaha kw'umwanzi aboneraho MDR imyanya 5, PSD imyanya 3, PL imyanya itatu, FPR yegukana imyanya ine, PDC bayijugunyira umwanya umwe nawo idakwiriye. No mu nteko ishingira amategeko biba uko. Amashyamba akorana n'umwanzi, MDR, PSD, PL yegukana intebe II, andi amashyamba bayaha intebe imwe imwe. Bityo ishyamba CDR bizwi ko rihagarariye rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu (85% by'abanyarwanda) rihezwa

mu butegetsi. Muri demokarasi, tuzi ko Kamarampaka ari ugutoro. Ko nta tora ryabaye kugira ngo barebe abayoboke ba buri shyamba uko bangana, rirya "saranganya" ryashingiye kuki?

Hari iperereza se ryakozwe ku buryo buri shyamba bazi ingufu zaryo kugeza igihe PDC yarusha abayoboke CDR? FPR yo ntacyo twavugaga ho kuko nta mitingiro yayo twari twabona. "Mitingi" yayo tuzi ni urugamba. Keretse niba FPR ikoreshe mitingiro zayo muri Uganda, dore ko ari naho ifite abayoboke benshi, ubwo ni naho izakorera.

### Intambara igeze ahakomeye.

Intambara abahutu barwana kuva mu 1959 kugira ngo badasubizwamo bu bucakara, igeze mu ikoni rikomeye. Abahutu baragambanirwaga Arusha, bagambanirwaga na NGULINZIRA watumwe n'amashyamba akorera umwanzi. NGULINZIRA ibyoyita "amasezerano y'amahoro" usanga ari ubugambanyi bukomeme. Ntawakwiyumvisha ukuntu wagabirira umwanzi n'ibitsi byo ubutegetsi ngo nurangiye.



za wemeze ko uzanye amahoro. Ayo mahoro yirengagiza inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi ni mahoro ki? ?

**NGURINZIRA** ni **NGURINZIRA** koko ! Aka kanya yibagiwe ko Komini Butaro inkotanyi ziyifite kandi ariyo avukamo ? Yarangiza agahamya ko ntawashobora gusubiza abanyarwanda (inkotanyi) muri Uganda kandi ngo bageze iwabo. Ibyo aribyo byose

ikizwi ni uko guverinoma izava mu masezerano y'Arusha idashobora gukorera mu Rwanda kuko rubanda nyamwinshi itayemerera. Keretse nikorera Arusha nyine. Dore ko na MRND umwanzu yari aziko yifatiye ayibeshyeshya imyanya ya nyirarureshwa yanyangiyeye. Yarangiye kwipakurura umwanzu, ihakana ko idashobora kugambanira abanyarwanda kariya kageni.

Byaragaragaye kandi ko ntawe uhatira abaturage icyo badashaka. Niba inkotanyi n'amashyaka akorana nazo agira ngo azabaze abanyarwanda icyo batekereza kuri ariya "masezerano". Ni habe Kamarampaka nk'iyabaye tariki ya 25 Nzeri 1961 maze urebe ngo inkotanyi n'amashyaka akorera mu kwaha kwazo arumirwa.

## TUBYIBAZEHO

### AHO IMICO NYARWANDA SIYO IZOREKA U RWANDA ?

Ubaza umunyarwanda uti ugiye he ? Ati sinzi iyo ngiye. Yava iyo yari agiye akakubwira ati sinzi iyo nari ndi, umuntu (nabwo avuga ko atazi) yambwiye ngo, cyangwa se yampaye inzoga biratinda n'ibindi n'ibindi... Iyo umubwiye kurya, niyo yaba afite inzara ikaze, ati ndahaze. Ati keretse akayoga... Guhishahisha ikibazo nyakuri niyo ntandaro y'ibibazo byinshi biri mu Rwanda.

Nta gisebo kiriho kuba umuntu yaravutse ari uyu n'uyu, ari umukire cyangwa umukene, ari mugufi cyangwa muremure, ari muto cyangwa munini, ari igikara cyangwa inzobe, cyangwa yaravukiye aha n'aha. Ari ibyo, umuntu wese yavukiye muri paradizo. Kuba rero nje naravutse ndi umuhutu, weho ukavuka uri umututsi, uriya akavuka ari umutwa, si twe twabyihaye. Ntawe ugomba kubizira. Ahubwo twari dukwiye gushimira uwabiduhaye. Umuhutu yakwivugira ko ari umuhutu, umututsi ati uriya umuhutu aravangura, ati ahubwo ashaka guca amajosi y'abahutu. Ibyo byatumye na Minisitiri w'Intebe, Dr. NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas, yihanukira akavuka kuri Radiyo Rwanda ko nta moko aba mu Rwanda, keretse ubwo ko bw'abanyarwanda. Nyuma ukumva ngo abahutu n'abatutsi basubiranyemo. Ayo moko avuye he se kandi?

Umututsi nawe yavugaga iby'iki-remwamuntu, akivugira aho umututsi hose yaba yaragiriye ingorane, habe n'aho yakopfora iby'iyi ntambara ikora amarorerwa. Ukibaza niba ikiremwa-muntu avuga ari ikiremwa-tutsi aba ashaka kwivugira.

Minisitiri NDASINGWA Landoald nawe ati abanyarwanda bari mu gihugu hagati nibategure imitima yabo yo kwakira impunzi. Ariko ntasabe i-

mpunzi (kandi ku bushake) ko arizo zari zikwiye gutegura imitima yabo, ubwo zaje zigasuka amasasu mu nzirakarengane kandi zikinabikira, abatutsi bari mu gihugu bakohereye abana babo mu Nkotanyi, nyuma bakemeza hose ndetse no mu mahanga ko abatera u Rwanda atari abatutsi. Ni uwuhe muhutu, uretse turiya dukingirizo twa KANYARENGWE na Pasteri BIZIMUNGU uva mu gihugu hagati ngo agiye gufatanya n'inkotanyi ? Abo bahutu bose bafite abavandimwe mu gihugu. Kuki batabakurikira, akaba ari abatutsi bonyine bohereza abana babo ? Ni amayobera !

Musenyeri Tadeyo NSENGIYUMVA nawe ati abasenyeri twarateranye twemeranya ibi. Abinyuza kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Musenyeri NSHAMIHIGO nawe ati sibyo twumvikanyeho. Nabyo bica kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Ni nde wavuze ukuri ? Ni nde wabeshye ? Ibyo aribyo byose, hariho uwabeshye. Kandi ikinyoma kizagaragara. Yego turi abantu ariko kuba umugabo yariyaye inshingano yo gukorera Imana ari indakemwa, agahita akabeshya, abo agira inama biteye isoni. Si n'isoni gusa, ahubwo ni ubwoba.

MDR iti nshaka amahoro, MRND na CDR nta mahoro bashaka. Iti bafite interahamwe zica. Bwacya ukumva kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo inkuba za MDR. Uko mbizi inkuba ntacyo ikiza, ahubwo irarimbura. Amahoro MDR ishaka ni azanwa n'inkuba.

FPR nayo iti nshaka demokarasi. Bwacya iti abadepite ntibagatorwe. Ikongera iti ikiremwa-muntu nticyubahirizwa mu Rwanda. Yo ije kucyubahiriza ikazana imbunda, igashimuta abo ngo ishaka kurengera, ab'igitsinagore ikabakorera ibya mfura mbi. Hari demokarasi iruta iyo se ! Ku byerekeye

imishyikirano ibera Arusha, FPR yoherereza impunzi z'abahutu batahunze revolusiyo ya 59, muri GOMNIkoherereza abatutsi. Ibyo bishaka kuvuga iki ?

PSD iti abantu babuze akazi kubera MRND. Nuko yizeza abaturage ndetse n'abatari bakwiye kukizera, ko ba abona akazi, muri rusange imibereho n'iza yabo igashyirwa mu bikorwa. Kwizeza ibitungaza se kandi bidashoboka, ha ikibi kiruta ibyo ?

PL iti buri muntu akwiye kwishyira akizana. Ariko uko kwishyira ukizana bireba gusa umututsi. Mu ntango y'iryo shyamba, Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA Stanislas yashinzwe gusesa ishyamba CDR. Mu kiganiro Minisitiri MBO-NAMPEKA yagiranye n'abanyamakuru tariki ya 3 Nzeri 1992, abanyamakuru bamubajije aho iryo seswa ry'iryo shyamba rigeze. Yabashubije ko nta bu-renganzira afite. Ati muri demokarasi ntawe upfukiranwa ijamba. Ati iryo shyamba rigomba kurwanywa mu rwego rwa kidemokarasi. Ati niba CDR koko ari ishyamba ribi, abanyarwanda bashobora kuriha akato, bityo rigahita ryise-sa. Ibyo byose byatumye abatutsi bita Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ngo ni CDR, ngo ntiyashoboye kwirukana abasideri bakorera muri Minisitiri y'Ubutabera kandi akagira ko avuka mu rukiga. Kwishyira ukizana bisabaye ko ugomba kuba umututsi cyangwa ukavukira mu karere katari ak'urukiga ?

MDR iti ndarwanya MRND na CDR. Kurwanya amashyamba mu bitekerezo si bibi. Ariko se nibyo tubona ? Mu myigaragambyo yose iba ko n'abayoboke ba MDR bakomoka mu rukiga, bakubitwa, imodoka zose zifite ibyapa GB-HB na IB bakazimenagura ibirahuri nk'aho zigendwamo gusa n'abaturuka muri ako karere. Iyo barwa-



nya ishyaka barwanya "idéologie", ntibarwanya akoko cyangwa akarere. Abanyamerika ntibarwanyije Abarusi kubera ubwoko, babarwanyije kubera "socialisme", bari bayobotse kandi bo ari aba "capitaliste".

Ubu ibibazo byugariye u Rwanda ni bibiri by'ingutu. Ariko abanyapolitiki barabyirengagiza bakabihunga. Kubera iki? Ntibashaka ukuri. Ibyo bibazo ni ibihe? ~~Ntibashaka ukuri. Ibyo bibazo ni ibihe?~~ Ni ubwoko n'uturere. Amoko niyo yabaye intandaro ya revolusiyo ya 1959 igihe abatutsi batemuraga na gato ko abahutu babategeka. Kubera ubwinshi n'ubwitange bwa bamwe, abahutu babigeraho. Kuba rero barasogongeye ku butegetsi, bakabona babishoboye, abahutu ntibazaburekura na rindi aribo benshi. Abatutsi bashatse basubiza amerwe mu isa-

ho kuko na biriya byitso byabo by'abahutu ntibizongera kwemera gutegekwa nabo. icyo abahutu bangira ko babategeka, si ikindi, ni uko bikubira, bakironda, abahutu bagahezwa.

Iyo bitaba ibyo ubutegetsi bwashakanyijwe. None se ko mu mishyikirano abatusi bashakira gukoresha amayeri yo kubona imyanya irenga 50% kandi batanze 10 cyangwa 15% y'abatuye u Rwanda. Hari ukwibura kutari uko? FPR yakoresheje intwari itandashakira ubutegetsi. CDR nayo itandashakira ubutegetsi ntakoresheje intwari. Bati CDR niyo ihungabanyaga umutekano (kubera iki?). Kubera ko nta mbunda ifite. Bishakira kuba ibya ya ndogobe y'umuhanzi "La Fontaine" yariye utwatsi mu nzira, intare itacyoreze kiri mu gihugu niyo (indogobe) yagiteye.

Ikibazo cy'uturere nacyo kirakomeye. Niamayeri y'abatutsi ashakagutanyaga ingufu z'abahutu. Ibyo byatangiyeye muri Repubulika ya I. Bigeze mu ya kabiri, byitwa "blocage" ya demokarasi.

Kuki umututsi atitirirwa akarere? Ibi nyamakuru byo mu Rwanda tujya dusoma, usanga biyandikiye ngo abatutsi n'abanyenduga. Abanyenduga bivugaga abahutu gusa? Nta abatutsi b'abanyenduga? Ibyo tuzabyifatamye? Ni ukwerekana buri muntu ko niba umututsi atagira akarere, n'umuhutu nawe ntako. Akarere ni u Rwanda. Ngibyo ibyo Minisitiri w'Intebe yari akwiye kwigisha aho kwigisha ko nta moko ahari. Akijya ku butegetsi, Radio France Internationale yarivugiyeye ituriye mugabo nta "expérience" afite muri politiki, usibye ko azakoresha izina rye.

SIBOMANA NABANTU

## NI NDE UTEGEKA ESM : MAJOR NDAMAGE CYANGWA COLONEL RUSATIRA ?

Kuva aho Col. RUSATIRA Léonidas agereye muri ESM, ari ryo shuri rikuru rya gisirikari, yihutiye kuvugurura ubutegetsi bw'iryo shuri nk'uko benshi babyifuzaga.

Muri iryo vugururwa hashyirwaho S4 (ushinzwe gucunga umutungo w'ikigo), ari we Major NDAMAGE. Col. RUSATIRA utegeka iryo shuri ntiyari azi ko yikururiye umuriro ashiraho uwo mugore kandi ko abasirikari bagengwa na ESM (abanyeshuri n'aba ofisiye bagitangira akazi kabo) bagiye kuharenganira kakahava. Uwo mugore rero akaba yarigize igihangange kuva kera. Mbese nk'aho yavuze nka wa mushingantahe ngo "nshize ko, nzivana ko!" Nawe se ngo nta musirikari ugomba guhembwa mbere ya tariki ya 15 kandi amafanga aba yarahageze

mu matariki ya mbere y'ukwezi. Ngo ntiyatangwa atabanye kumwungukira aho aba yayajyanye mu bucuruzi bwe, abayakoreye bicwa n'inzara.

Ugirango uragira icyo ubaza, ugatukwa bya gishumba tutaretse no gukorerwa dosiye ubwo itiku rikaba ritangiyeye. Hari abasirikari benshi (bahembwa na ESM), bafite ibirarane by'amezi batahembwe kandi bahebye ngo batavaho biyubikira imbehe. Abandi ntitwigeze tubona no kuri ya nkunga twahawe n'ababyeyi bacu (Fonds de Soutien). Twayibaza ndese? Keretse ushaka ko Madamu agusezerera. Ukibaza niba Major NDAMAGE yarayirwanye (niba koko yarayirwanye) wenyine. Abasirikare

benshi bahemberwa muri ESM baribaza niba ubuyobozi bw'icyo kigo butazi icyo kibazo. Cyangwa se niba bubyirengagiza kubera impamvu runaka.

Yego muri ibi bihe bya demokrasi nta wahutaza igitsina gore ariko se kandi nacyo cyagirira impuhwe abobasore birirwa iyo ku rugamba, bakabona nibura utwo bakoreye hafi gutanga ubuzima bwabo. Ariko twumvise ko uwo mutegarugori (Major NDAMAGE) bamuhaye Lt HAKIZIMANA ngo amwunganire, ahari ibintu byatungana. Kandi natwe ntidusinziriyeyeturi maso, nayo tuzayirwana!

Abanyeshuri bo muri ESM

Bikurikira urup. 4

CDR rero ikaba igomba gushakira uburyo yakorana na MRND na MDR kuko ayo mashyamba yombi abitse abayoboze ba CDR. Biragaragara kandi ko mu gihe cyavubwaho MRND na CDR zizasenyukira muri CDR na FPR. Abahutu baharanire inyungu zabo n'abatutsi barwane ku zabo. CDR kandi ikaba igomba kwerekana, yereka abahutu, ko ntacyo ipfana na MRND yuzuye ibyitso, kandi ijandajanda muri ya mahoro, muri bwa bumwe bwayo

tumenyereye n'abatutsi ubwabo banze. Abashinzwe gushakira abayoboze muri CDR bari bakwiye kugira umwete bakakira vuba bariya bahutu bakihishe muri MRND na MDR ariko bafite ubushake bwo gufatanya n'abandi bahutu bene wabo.

Hari abakomeje kwibeshya ngo ishyamba ry'abahutu CDR ngo ishyamba ryabo rizatora Habyarimana byanze bikunze mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika. Oya! Ishyamba CDR

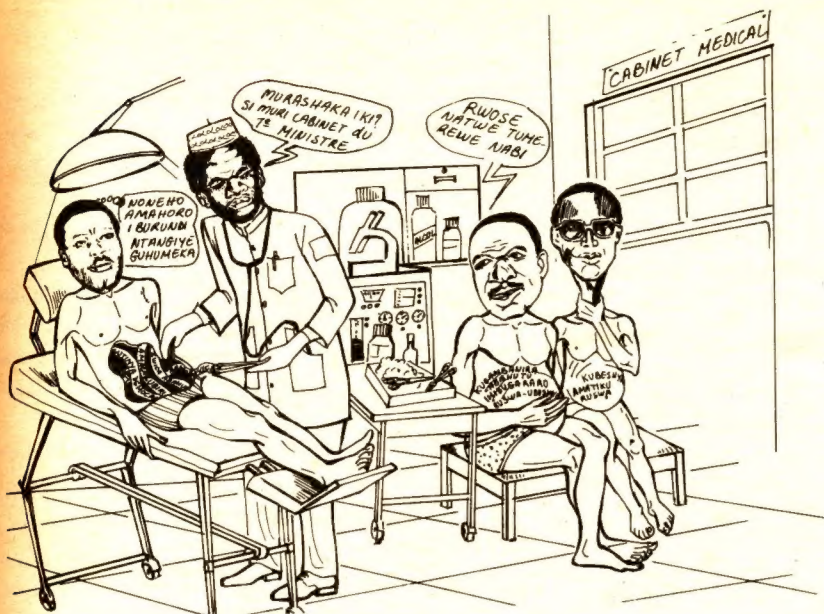
rizatanga umukandida wabyo ugomba gushyigikirwa n'abahutu, Habyarimana afite ishyamba rye naryo rizamushyigikirwa. N'ababa bari mu buyobozi bukuru bwa CDR bazi ko bahagarariyemo MRND bo basezera hakiri kare. CDR ikorera abahutu bose, ushaka gufatanya nayo nageragaze icyo yamariye abahutu.

CDR turi maso.

NGEZE Hassan.



**TWIRINDE IBIHE TURIMO BIRAGOYE.**



Banyamigambwe namwe nimu-  
vire hasi ivyo bintu, mubitohoze neza  
hakiri kare, kuko ubwenge bw'abatutsi  
murabuzi, barondera ko abo bantu ba-  
batorera, amajwi y'abatutsi akiyonge-  
ra, badatsindiye mu matora bagaca ba-  
bafasha guhonya abahutu. Uwo mu-  
gambi bashobora kuba barateguye ku-  
wukoresha no mu bindi bihugu biri mu  
gice ca Afrika yo hagati. Barundi bene  
mama ngiyo rero impamvu ituma  
Buyoya ashaka kugirisha amatora ya  
huti-huti, akirengangiza ko imiga-  
mbwe mishasha atagihe gikwiye ira-  
ronka yo kwimenyekanisha, eka na-  
mbere twese tukirindiriye n'iyindi mi-  
gambwe yasavye kwemera ariko iga-  
komeza kuburabuzwa nka Palipehutu,  
MPD n'iyindi.

Bakuru b'imigambwe mwese nimwamize yombi, ayo matora adashitse. Ico Buyoya akwiye kumenya nuko ategerezwa kwemera imigambwe iyariyo yose, kuko nta demokarasi nyakuri twoba dufise hagize imigambwe ikumirwa nka palipehutu, MPD n'iyindi yose isigaye inyuma, mbere coba ari ikinyoma cambaye ubusa. None iyo migambwe bakwankirakandi tuzi ko imwimwe yariho kuva kera kandi ikomeye bazoyishira hehe?. Barundi, barundikazi namwe Rwaruka ico tutakwirengangiza n'uko ibiba hiry aho hino natwe bishobora kudushikira. Ariko ngo: "Iyikubiriye ntikurya" Buyoya niyaba afise amatwi y'ukwumva nyumve.

**Umusomyi wa Kangura.  
BANZUBAZE Evariste  
Kamenge-Bujumbura**

Egomu simpakana ko i Bugande batariyo, twese turazi ko hariyo abarundi bagiyeyo kera, ariko abarundi bagiyeyo i Bugande ni abantu baja guca amahera, kandi bafise na bene wabo mu gihugu. Ariko abo bantu nkuko nababonye ntibaza n'abo tuvuze. Ahubwo abantu bemeza ko abenshi batariyo abaganda, ko ahubwo ari abasomariya b'abasirikare. Ikindi giteye abarundi amakenga, nuko abatutsi bo muri Zaire, Tanzaniya, Uganda ndetse n'abo mu Rwanda bakoraniye hano iwacu mu Burundi, cane cane i Bujumbura. Abarundi bamwe bemeza ko abo batutsi bese ngo boba barajye k'ubutumire bwa Leta ntutsi y'u Burundi kubunganira mu matora. Barundi mwese muragabe twarajwemo, abo batutsi bese baje mu Burundi ntibagomba kwinjira mu ibibazo vya politike y'u Burundi.

## BURUNDI : AKABAYE ICWENDE NTIKOGA

KANGURA nta gihe itamaganye imigirire y'ubutegetsi bw'abatutsi b'i Burundi bagiye kumarira abahutu kw'icumu. Buyoya agifata ubutegetsi ku ngufu tariki ya 3 Nzeri 1987 yakomeje gahunda yatangiwe na bakuru be kuva ku bami kugeza kuri Bagaza.

Buyoya yabanje kwirengagiza politiki y'amashyaka menshi, ageze aho ayemera atayemeye. Ati amashyaka menshi yego ariko sinshaka kwumva PALIPEHUTU. Ni uko yari azi ko ariyo izamuca ku kinyoma yanze akunze. Abakurikiranira hafi ibyapolitiki mu Burundi, bemeza ko Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo bategura iyica si-

musiga ry'abahutu mu Burundi. Kuko hari ibimenyetso byerekana ko imbaga nyamwinshi y'Abarundi yarambiwe ingoyi ya Buyoya ikaba ishaka kumusezerera. Buyoya nawe ngo yarahiye ko azagenda atiseguye imbaga nk'uko «yamye abikora».

– Muri iki gihe i Burundi hanaturuka amakuru ateye impungenge yemeza ko intwaramuheto (ingabo z'u Burundi zigizwe n'abatutsi 100 ku 100) zagose igihugu cyose cyane cyane imijyi uhereye i Bujumbura ubu isigaye imeze nk'iri mu mukwabu. Ubutegetsi bwa Buyoya bwatangiyeye kandi gukwiza ibihuha ngo PALIPE-

HUTU igiye gutera. Uwo mukino urazwi cyane mu Burundi. Iyo ubutegetsi butangiye kwikanga baringa bu-ba bushaka kworeka imbaga y'Abahu-tu.

Ingabo z'abatutsi b'i Burundi zatangiyeye gushotora abaturage cyane cyane i Gitega i Bujumbura, mu Kirundo, Rutana n'ahandi. Muri iryo shotora hari abaturage batagira ingano bamaze kuhagwa. Impunzi zatangiyeye guhungira mu Rwanda no muri Zaïre.

Buyoya yagiye muri Uganda  
kwongera kugisha inama umuhima



mwene wabo Yoweri Kaguta Museveni mu buryo yatsemba abahutu benshi. Dore ko atari n'ubwa mbere kuko abo bahima bombi hashize imyaka ibiri bashyize umukono ku masezerano yorohereza ingabo za Museveni (NRA) gufasha nta nkomyi abatutsi b'i Burundi kwica abahutu.

Nta gitangaza kirimo kuko no mu Gushyingo 1991, Buyoya yitabaje abacanshuro b'abasomali, n'abanyetiyo-piya baje biyita «impunzi».

Buyoya yanatangiye gutunga agatoki abayobozi b'amashyaka

b'abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ishyamba rye (UPRONA). Nabo iminsi yabo irabaze.

Buyoya kandi akomeje kwanga ko ishyamba PALIPEHUTU rya rubanda nyamwinshi mu Burundi ryakwemerwa nk'andi mashyamba. Kubera ko Buyoya akomeje gufukirana rubanda nyamwinshi, ishyamba PALIPEHUTU riramusaba ibi bikurikira amazi atari yarenga inkombe. :

— Kwemera nta mananiza amashyamba yose agakora ku mugaragaro

— Kurekura imfungwa za politiki

— Gushyiraho Guverinoyi y'inziyabacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi zitegura amatwara ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'ayabadepite n'itahuka ry'impunzi.

— abasirikari bakareka kwivanga muri politiki. PALIPEHUTU irasaba rubanda nyamwinshi y'abarundi kuba maso n'amahanga agahaguruka agatesha Buyoya kuzuza umugambi we.

## INYENZI NIZIZE TUZAKIRIZE IBYO ZADUTOJE

### Itangazo ryihutirwa

Ubuyobozi bwa KANGURA bwishimiye gutangaza ku mugaragaro ivuka ry'ishyamba hamwe "TURI HOSE". Uko uwo mutwe uteye, ubumbye abantu bose, uruburuko n'abakuru. Nk'uko twemera ko FPR iharanira inyungu z'abatutsi, abatwaga nabo bakaba bafite ishyamba hamwe ryabo, ni ngombwa ko abahutu nabo bagira umuryango urengera inyungu zabo. Kugeza ubu uwo mutwe utangiranye abanyamuryango benshi kandi bakomoka mu mashyamba yose n'ababaye ingabo z'u Rwanda. Abarenganye bose nibabere abandi urugero binjire ari benshi muri uwo muryango umaze gushingwa. Twabibutsa kandi ko abifuza kuwuhagararira mu Rwanda no mu Burundi batubaza ibisobanuro, banatugezaho ibitekerezo byabo. Ushakabibindi bisobanuro yabaza ubuyobozi bwa KANGURA.

Umuyobozi wa KANGURA  
NGEZE Hassan

## GUFUNGA NGEZE HASSAN BYASHEGESHE MBONAMPEKA

Amakuru avugwa hanzeho aha akomeje kwemeza ko MBONAMPEKA yegura harimo n'uko abatutsi bamwoheje ngo afunge NGEZE Hassan kandi ari umweme. Byamuriye mu nda, bikubitiyeho ko abatutsi aribo barimo gufatanywa mine arikontibafungwe kubera gutinya P.L., ahitamo kwicira urubanza. NGEZE rero yatsinze guverinoma ebyiri : iy'u Rwanda n'iy'u Burundi bifatanije. Izo guverinoma zombi zemeye ko KANGURA yandika ukuri cyane icyo

ivugaga «Amaraso y'Abahutu ku mutwe wa Buyoya» Iyo nyandiko niyo yakomye Rutenderi.

## KUNGA UBUMWE N'UMUTUTSI NI NKO KURYA UMWENDA W'INKUBA

Abatutsi bo muri Zaïre baherutse kugira igitekerezo cyo gushinga umuryango uhuza abazayirwa bavugaga iki-nyarwanda. icyo gitekerezo bagishyize mu bikorwa, uwo muryango bawita "Umoja". Bikaba bishobora gusobanura ubufatanye, ubumwe. Muri uwo muryango hari abahutu 48 bavugaga ko bari mu bavushinze. Igitangaje ariko ni uko kimwe cya kabiri kirenga cy'abo batari bahari no kwa noteri bongeye bakabura. Ubwo icyo gihugu kigendera ku mategeko, twizere ko kitemera ibyo bintu. Abahutu bashishoza banze ubwo buryarya bw'abatutsi bati: "Aho mugaze abahutu bo mu Rwanda, abo mu Burundi no muri Uganda, turahazi. Ntidushobora kwikururiraho amakara. Kunga ubumwe namwe ni nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba.

None amakuru atugeraho aremeza ko abatutsi b'i Kibumba, i Nyamitamba, i Masisi, bitegura gutera abahutu b'abandandikiye ngo baherutse kubarira inka zigera kuri magana abiri. Kubera ko abo "bavandimwe" batakirwanisha imiheto n'amacumu ni ukuba maso.

## KANGURA YACIYE AGAHIGO !

KANGURA nicyo kinyamakuru cyigenga cyo muri Afurika cyavuzwe cyane mu manama y'abakuru b'ibihugu kurusha ibindi binyamakuru.

### Iyumvire nawe

Buyoya yavuze KANGURA kwa Mo-

butu ubwo yari hamwe na HABYARIMANA i Gbadolite, ayirega i Dar-Es-Salaam, ayirega mu nama yongeye kubahuza (abakuru b'ibihugu bigize CEPGL) harimo na Museveni. Buyoya yongeye kuva i Bujumbura yikoreye KANGURA azizana mu nama yabereye ku Gisenyi. KANGURA yavuzwe mu mibonano ya HABYARIMANA na Mitterand mu Bifaransa. KANGURA yavugiye mu nama yahujwe umwami w'u Bubiligi na Perezida HABYARIMANA.

KANGURA yavuzwe mu bihugu by'i Buraya cyane cyane muri ya mategeko icumi y'abahutu.

Ubu tuvugaga ibi, KANGURA ni cyo kinyamakuru cyo mu Rwanda gisomwa mu mahanga kurusha ibindi. Ngicyo ikinyamakuru kizwi cyane cyane muri Afurika kurusha ibindi cyane cyane mu manama y'abakuru b'ibihugu.

NGEZE Hassan uyobora KANGURA ubu niwe munyamakuru muri Afurika wafunzwe inshuro nyinshi azira inyandiko kuko amaze gufungwa inshuro 20 muri gereza, n'inshuro 34 muri za Brigade kandi baracyakomeza.

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## GUVERINOMA Y'U BURUNDI ISIGAYE ITEGEKA IY'U RWANDA

Ibihe biha ibindi koko! U Rwanda rugitegekwa na Nyakwigendera Gerigori KAYIBANDA, u Burundi bwatutinyaga. icyo gihe igihugu cyacu cyari kiyubashye kuko KAYIBANDA ntiyakina mu bikomeye. KAYIBANDA akivanwa ku butegetsi, igihugu cy'u Burundi, icyo gihe cyari kironkome na Colonel MICOMBERO, nicyo kihutiye koherereza Général HABYARIMANA telegramu y'ishimwe. Nta rundi rukundo Micombero yakundaga u Rwanda. Kuri we, yari akize "inkuba" Gerigori KAYIBANDA wari warangije gusinyira ko u Rwanda rwakosora u Burundi. Colonel NSABIMANA niwe wari washinzwe kuyobora imirwano ku rugamba. Ntidushidikanya ko yari kubytwarwamo neza kuko yabyerekanye arwana n'inyenzi kuva ziteye tariki ya 10 Ukwakira 1990.

Amahoro n'ubumwe, kubana neza n'ibihugu duturanye, nibyo bidusuzuguje! Igihugu cy'amahanga (u Burundi) gisigaye gitegeka igihugu cyigenga.

U Burundi bwashyize ku umuho bozi mukuru wa KANGURA afungwa, u Rwanda ruti: Ndiyo bwana. Kandi si ubwa mbere. Iyo haba hari icyaha NGEZE Hassan aregwa, icyo kibazo cyari gushyikirizwa ubucamanza. NGEZE akaburana n'abo aburana nabo, noneho icyaha cyamuhama akahamwa hakurikije amategako agenga u Rwanda.

Inyandiko NGEZE Hassan yafunguwe iboneka muri KANGURA n° 38 ku rupapuro rwa 14. Iyo nyandiko yanditswe hifashishijwe Raporo y'Amnesty International yasohotse ivuga amarorerwa i Burundi. Iyo nyandiko ngo yaba yarababaje Perezida w'u Burundi Major Petero Buyoya. Asaba, nako ateguka ko bafunga NGEZE Hassan, icyo Buyoya ategutse kirakorwa. Nyamara ibyavugwaga kuri Buyoya ni ukuri. None se abahutu b'i Burundi hari igihe batapfuye kandi na nubwabaracyapfa.

Mu gihe twateguraga iyi nimero tumenye ko u Burundi bwafashe umusozi w'u Rwanda ku ngufu none bwanzekuwutanga. Tuzabibagezaho ubutaha.

## U RWANDA RUGIYE KUBA NKA SOMALIYA.

Ubwoko bw'abatutsi bukomoka ku muryango munini w'abo bita "les Nilothiques" cyangwa se les "Hami-tes". Muri uwo muryango harimo ubwoko bw'inshi butuye mu karere bita Abisiniya. Ni ukuvugaga za Etiopiya, Somaliya, Djibouti, n'agace k'amajyari-guru ya Kenya. Muri uwo muryango niho twashyira n'ubwoko bw'abamasai, buboneka cyane cyane muri Kenya no muri Tanzaniya. Ubwo bwoko bukaba buzwiho cyane gukunda intambara ku buryo ibihugu burimo bihora mu mirwano y'urudaca. Uwabona uko Somaliya imeze ubu niwe wamenya neza ibyago byugariye u Rwanda.

Somaliya nayo ntiyari yiyanze. Yari yifitiye amahoro. Kimwe n'ibihugu byinshi by'Afurika, Somaliya yayoborwaga n'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi riyobowe na Jenerali Siyaad Bare. Ubutegetsi bw'uwo mugabo ntibwari shyashya. Ibyo byahaye uburyo bwiza abari bafite inyota y'ubutegetsi aribo Mahdi Mohamed na Jenerali Farah Haidid kwigarurira abaturage bitabaruhije. Babeshye ko bafashe intwari kugira ngo bavaneho ingoma y'igitugu bashakira gushyiraho demokarasi. Siyaad Bare baba bamuvanyeho bigabiza igihugu baragisenya kubera ubwumvikane bucyeye hagati yabo. Abaturage

babeshyaga ko barwanirira barahagwa biratinda. Amahanga yatabaye ibintu byageze iwa Ndabaga None urwishe Somaliya rwaba arirwo rudutegereje?

Mu mayeri yazo zimenyereye. Inyenzi-Inkotanyi zateye zivugaga ko zije guhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bw'ishyamba rimwe MRND, ko zizanye demokarasi mu Rwanda. Uretse na none ko demokarasi izirana n'imbunda. Nti-twabitindaho! Inkotanyi zashoboye guteranya rubanda nyamwinshi z'abahutu, zibacamo uduce. Baboneka abahutu b'abanyenduga, abakiga..., bajya mu mashyamba anyuranye. FPR yashoboye kumvisha abahutu bamwe na bamwe ko ishyamba CDR ngo rigamije kurimbura abatutsi n'abanyenduga.

Mwibuke kandi ko imishyikirano ya Arusha igitangira FPR yashakaga kuroha u Rwanda mu mutego nk'uwo Yugoslavia yaguyemo. FPR yashakaga ko u Rwanda rwategekwa n'abaperezida benshi icyarimwe! Aho byageze igihugu cya Yugoslavia ntawe uhayobewe. Ubu nticyasenyutse? Abagituye ntibamarana? Hari aho se inkotanyi zabahishe? ukuba maso.

## LETTRE OUVERTE AU COMMANDANT GENDARMERIE-GISENYI

Abaturage ba GISENYI batishimiye Komanda BIZIMANA Andreyu wa Groupement Gisenyi

Gisenyi, le 21/01/1993

Impamvu: Gusaba imyigiragambyo yo kugaragarizamo icyo dutekereza kuri Komanda Bizimana Andreyu n'inze-goze.

Bwana Perefe wa Gisenyi,

Twebwe abaturage ba Gisenyi tubabajwe no kubagezaho uru rwandiko rukubiyemo agahinda twatwe na Komanda BIZIMANA Andreyu kuva yagera ku Gisenyi. Muri make uwo Komanda BIZIMANA ni muntu ki?

1. BIZIMANA nkuko amadosiye ye dufite abitwerekambere yo kuza gukora hano ku Gisenyi, yari avuye i Kigali aho yaregwaye kwica abantu abahohoteye dore ko hari n'umuramba na n'ubu ataraburana yitwaza ko uwo muntu yamwishye ku mpamvu z'akazi.

2. Umushahara yahembwe kuva agisohoka muri ESM dufite imibare yawo. None tukababwazababaga ko mu myigiragambyo tuzakora twazerekana amafunga yose atunze maze agasobanura aho yayavanywe. Tuzatanga imipapuro zose zaho abitsa maze murube niba ayo yahembwe hari aho ahuriye n'ayo atunze.

3. Twifuza ko abaturage bese yahohoteye bakusanyaga ubugome yabakoreye maze bigasomerwa mu ruhame. Bityo n'inze-goze zibishinzwe zikabimenyera aho.

4. Urugendo rwacu ruzahera mu mujyi kandi rukorwe n'abaturage bese batamwishimiye maze nawe aboneko ntanumwe umushaka hano ku Gisenyi ubwo tuzahagararira ku nzu yubatswe akoresheje ruswa n'iterabwoba iri ku musozi wa Rubavu dore ko icyo nzu ariyo nyirabayazana mu gufungira abantu ubusa agira ngo batange umu-sanzu wo kuyubaka.

5. Dusabye ko mbere y'amasaha 48 yaba amaze gufungurwa uwitwaga MUYANDINDA Protasis. Azira ibyo twavuze haruguru yitwaza ngo arakaza ko yaba yaraguye imubunda.

6. Ku byerekeye imubunda tubonyeho ku mwibutsa ko burimuhutu agombaga gushakisha uko yayibona kosekuko ariyo izamutabara mu minsi iri imbere. Ndetse Komanda namenye ko ubu abahutu benshi tuzifite kandi ntazi uko twazibonye. Bityo rero guhohotera uriya utarayibona agambiriye kumuvanaho ruswa naba ataramurekura muri ariya masaha twavuze haruguru tuzakoreshe ingufu z'abaturage b'abahutu maze tubohoze mwene wacu.

7. Amarorerwa yakoze hagati ya Goma na Gisenyi nayo tuzayatangaza maze ajye ahagaragara.

8. Nkuko Ministri w'Intebe yadusabye kwirwanaho ubu igihe kirageze cyo kwereka Komanda Bizimana Andreyu ko akaduruvayo kazaba ku Gisenyi ariwe uzaba agateje. Ni mutwemerera gukora icyo myigiragambyo muzababwira mugize neza nimutwangira kandi tuzabikora ku ngufu z'abaturage, twemere turaswe, dufungwe ariko ubu mutegetsi tudashakira yirukanwe cyangwa yimurwe. Kandi tuzabikora kw'isaha tutababwiye.

BIMENYESHEJWE:

- Perezida wa Repubulika.
- Ministri w'Intebe
- Ministri w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini
- Porokireri wa Repubulika Pariki ku Gisenyi
- Komanda w'Ingabo ku Gisenyi Major BAHUFITE.



# GUVERINOMA YA NSENGIYAREMYE MU MAREMBERA

Umugabo NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas, akigirwa Minisitiri w'Intebe, abantu baratangaye ari nako bumiwe. Uwo mugabo ntiyari azwi cyane muri politiki, uretse gusa kuba yarigeze kuba umunyamabanga mukuru nabwo muri Minisitiri y'Ubuhinzi, Ubworozi n'Amashyamba. Ntawe utanga icyo adafite. None se veterineri, wiberaga iyo za Muvumba, mwagiraga ngo akore iki? Naho miseke ararwana! Nyamara se umukuru w'igihugu ntiyari yasabye ishyaka MDR abakandida batandatu ngo ahitemo uwo abona u-shoboye, bakamuhatira umuvuzi w'amatungo ngo ni uguhimana?

NSENGIYAREMYE yatangiye imirimo mishya yari amaze gushingwa ahuzagurika. Abanza kwihagararaho asa n'uwerekana ko akorera igihugu, ageze aho arerura akorera ishyaka rye. Iryo shyaka, kimwe n'ariya mashyaka yandi afatanije n'umwanzi ariyo PSD, na PL, yabanje guhakana ko adakorana n'Inyenzi. None ukuri kwaragariye. Inkotanyi zihereranye ayo mashyaka i Buruseri ngo bagiye gushaka «amahoro».

Iyo urebye ibikorwa ARUSHA, usanga ari buriya bugambanyi bwakorewe i Buruseri burimo gushyirwa mu bikorwa. NGURINZIRA, atumwe n'ishyaka rye, akazi yarakarangije nk'uko inkotanyi zabyifuzaga. Ibyo kandi bikitirirwa Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ndetse n'abanyarwanda.

Inkotanyi ubwazo ntizashize amakenga imikorere ya NGULINZIRA, intumwa ya NSENGIYAREMYE ARUSHA. Zabonaga ukuntu ibyo zategetse byemerwa buhumyi, zikumva zifite impungenge zibaza niba koko abanyarwanda bazabagerekaho biriya byose bise amasezerano ya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi, bakemera.

Inkotanyi zo zireba kure. Kuko niba NSENGIYAREMYE, NGURINZIRA, TWAGIRAMUNGU n'abandi barariye ku Makotanyi, siko abanyarwanda bose yabagezeho. Nanubu ntizirasobanukirwa ukuntu Guverinoma iriho ubu yazigabiye Perefe gitura ya Byumba, ariyo nini mu Rwanda. Bakagerekaho na Minisitiri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu. Zibatanga zwa kandi n'ukuntu ikibazo cy'abava-

nywe mu byabo n'intambara barenga ubu ibihumbi magana atanu (500.000) ntawe ugihingutsa mu mishyikirano y'Arusha, mu gihe inyenzi zandikishije hakiri kare ikibazo cya bene wazo bahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959. Si iyo noneho zibonye ukuntu ishyaka CDR, ishyaka ry'abahutu bagize 85 ku ijana ry'abanyarwanda bose, rihejwe mu butegetsi, ziraseka zigaca. Kandi ni mu gihe.

## Icyo rubanda ishatse.....

Tujya twumva ko NSENGIYAREMYE na NGURINZIRA baba barize ikilatini. Hari interuro abo bagabo bari bakwiye kujya bazirikana kuko ikomeye. Iyo nteruro igira itya: «*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*». Mu gifaransa ngo:

La voix du peuple, (c'est), la voix de Dieu. Tugenekereje mu Kinyarwanda cyacu twavugaga ko icyo abaturage bashatse, nicyo Imana iba ishaka. Aka wa muririmbyi ngo «Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut». Uretse ko we yari yibereye mu bindi bibazo bidafite aho bihuriye na politiki, ariko nawe yari yarikocoye.

Inyenzi zigize gutya zitomborera na jandarumori y'igihugu yatanzwana Colonel -Padiri NDINDIRIYIMANA abisabwe na NSENGIYAREMYE. Biba bihuriranye n'uko ku rugamba, Inkotanyi zari zisanze zikundira abajedi ku buryo zabahaye n'akazina keza k'ikibyiniriro, «batoto ba EGENA». Kuba inkotanyi zikunda abajedi ku rugamba nta kindi ni uko ntangorane zigira iyo zicakiranye nabo kuko aba ari icyambu ziba zibonye cyo kwambukiraho. Bitewe ahari n'ubutwari bugereraniye bw'abo bajedi cyangwa se ubwumvikane buri hagati y'icyo gice kimwe cy'ingabo z'igihugu n'inyenzi.

Burya ngo bose ni «abavandimwe». Ibyo ari byo byose, NGURINZIRA na NSENGIYAREMYE bamenye ko iminsi y'igisambo ibaze. Basigaye birirwa bavuzwa induru ngo batewe. Si uguterwa, kuko igisambo iyo kibye kirashakishwa kigafatwa, n'umugamba-

nyi ni uko. NGURINZIRA nashaka azasabe bataillon nzima y'abajedi bo kumurinda, ntacyo bizatanga igihe cyose azaba akomeje kugambanira rubanda nyamwinshi. Ahari akeka ko abo bajedi bose ari ibyitso! Harimo abari maso, ariko bicecekeye bakora akazi kabo, igihe nikigera nibo bazifatira ubwabo uwo mugambanyi bamushyikirize rubanda!

## PUBLICITE

### Itangazo rya KANGURA

Umutwe utabara Abahutu waravutse

Nk'uko twabitangaje kurupapuro rwa 10, umutwe "Turi hose" ushinze mbere na mbere kurengera Abahutu bakomoka mu mashyaka yose. Kandi mu buryo bwose, hakoreshejwe inzira zose. Uwo mutwe witwa "Turi hose". Ugomba gushyigikirwa na buri muhutu wifuza ko ubwoko bwe butarimbura. Cyangwa se ngo umuco w'Abahutu wibagirane. Uwo mutwe ushobora no gukorera mu mahanga cyane cyane igihe cyo gutabara abahutu bugarijwe. Baza ibisobanuro muri KANGURA B.P....Gisenyi cyangwa B.P. 1312 Kigali

DUTEGANYE UKO TUZIRENGERA TWATEWE.

## PUBLICITE

Restaurant «La Sympathique» mu Ruhengeri Chez Manu!

Bagenzi bajya mu Ruhengeri namwe abajya ku Gisenyi!

Mugane Restaurant «La Sympathique». Irabakira uko mubyifuzal! Ntacyo mwayiburana.

Icyayi cya mu gitondo... inkoko za saa sita na nimugoroba...

Fanta, Primus, Mützig zifutse bibagereho!

Restaurant «La Sympathique» iri mu mujyi rwagati.

Restaurant «La Sympathique», c'est vraiment sympa!

NSENGIYAREMYE na MDR ye, bararwiciriyemo ngo abaturage barambiwe ubutegetsi bw'igitugu. Awa! Baburambiwe nyine. Banarambiwe n'ubugambanyi bwa Guverinoma iriho. N'iveho. Kandi nitavaho bazayihira.



rikira. Nsengiyaremye, umuntu yamubara muri ba bandi Museveni yise «ignorant politically», ni ukuvuga «injiji» muri politiki. NSENGIYAREMYE, aha yatubabarira ntutwimwe «injiji» kuko afite impamyabushobozi ihanitse (doctorat) mu buvuzi bw'amatungo, veterineri. Ariko niyemere ko muri politiki ari inkandagiritabo, bayimuroshyemo ntacyo yiyumviramo. Buri muntu rero nakore icyo yize, afitiye ubushobozi dore ko ari nawe ukunze kubyivugira.

NSENGIYAREMYE atera urwanya iyo avuga ngo abakora imyigaragambyo bakwiye guhanwa bikomeye ! Aka kanya se yibagiwe ko muri demokarasi imyigaragambyo ari uburyo bwemewe bwo kwerekana icyo wifuza ? NSENGIYAREMYE we rero ngo iyo myigaragambyo (kandi nawe ajya ayikora n'ishyaka rye) niveho kuko muri iki gihe imwikomacyane. Akaba ashaka kuyivanaho yitwaje ko itemewe n'amategako. Ese ubundi iyo umuntu arakaye abanza gusaba uruhusa, agateguza ko agiye kurakara ? Rerongo yatanze «amabwiriza» ayaha

Minisitiri w'ingabo z'igihugu, n'uwubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'uwubutabera (weguye). Nizere ko nabo atari abana bo kugwa muri uwo mutego ashaka kubarohamo. Urebye neza, NSENGIYAREMYE arashaka kwoshya abo bategetsi gushumuriza abaturage ingabo zabo batahwemye gushyigikira, zitigeze zibatenguha. Yiyibagiza ko izo ngabo avuga zituruka muri abo abaturage. Yongeraho ngo «nibatezuka ku ntego yabo, abaturage bazabyikorera». Ahubwo nareba nabi abaturage baramwikuriraho ! Abacamanza nabo twakwizera ko umuntu umwe atazabakoresha amakosa abateguka kurenganya rubanda bashinzwe kurenganura. Mumureke yipfire we nyine atagira uwo ajyana nawe.

NSENGIYAREMYE niyo yagira ibyitso bingana iki nka Perefe wa Butare, ntacyo azageraho. Uwo mu perefe nawe yabonye isomo abaturage bamuhaye. Kubera ko ari we usigaye yambutsa ku mugaragaro urubwirako rujya mu Nkotanyi runyuze i Burundi, abaturage bamusabye guhagarika ibyo bintu arananirana. Ariko burya

nyamwanga kumva ntiyanze kubona. Abaturage bafashe icyemezo cy'uko uwo bazafata ajya mu Nkotanyi (kandi barafatwa buri munsu), bazamunyaza iy'ubusamo. Ni ukuvuga kumushyira mu Kanyaru, akanyura iya Kagera dore ko ari nabwo agera vuba muri Uganda. Kuko nta kindi cyashobora ibyitso.

Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE isigaye imeze nka wa muntu wenda guhuhuka ariko akirashya imigiri. None se ategereje ko abaturage aribo bayihuhurira. Yakweguye itarazambya ibintu. Cyangwa NSENGIYAREMYE arashaka ko rubanda imufata mpiri. Nabyo byaba da ! None se urwishigishye ntarusoma ! Ibyabereye muri Saint André byari bikwiye kubera veterineri isomo. Abana 1500 basezereye umuyobozi wabo kubera amafuti ye. Ubwo se abantu barenga miliyoni zirindwi nibo bazanirwa uwo mu nya Kayenzi? Yaba se akoze mu ki ra? Nawe se ni burende? Simbihamya?

KANGURA.

## RADIYO RWANDA YAHINDUTSE RADIYO MUHABURA



«Ici Radio Muhabura;  
Station relais-Kigali».

Kuva aho ishyaka MDR rihereye Minisitiri y'Itangazamakuru, itangazamakuru rya Leta naryo risigaye ribogamye. Ibinyamakuru bya Leta ariko cyane cyane Radio Rwanda, bihi-

nduka ibikoreshe by'ishyaka MDR ifatanije n'inyenzi. Ibyo MDR yitaga kubohozza Radio Rwanda, byabaye gufata Radio y'igihugu, ya rubanda, ukayigira igikoreshe cy'agatsiko k'abantu bakorera inyungu zabo gusa.

Abumva Radio Rwanda barambiwe ibinyoma bya Minisitiri w'Itangazamakuru, Pascal NDENGEJEHO wirirwa amena abantu amatwi ashora itiku cyane cyane ku makuru yerekeye imirimo y'inama z'abaminisitiri dore ko ari nawe muvugizi wa Guverinoma. Abantu baba bakeneye kwumva ibyavugiye muri izo nama ntibababakeneye na gato itiku ry'ishyaka rya MDR. Umuntu ubeshya akabeshyera n'umukuru w'igihugu? Intambara igitangira, ubutegetsi bwahanganye n'ibinyoma by'inkotanyi. None aho igeze hiyongereyeho n'ibya NDENGEJEHO usa n'aho akazi ke agafatanije no kuba umuvugizi wa FPR-Inkotanyi.

NDENGEJEHO (izina niryo muntu) namenye ko abantu bafite akandi kazi, batazahora bata igihe cy'abo banyomoza amahomvu ye. Twarambiwe kandi «ubutumwa» NDENGEJEHO ngo ageza ku banyarwanda. Se uwo mwarimu ageza ubutumwa ku banyarwanda ari iki ra? Mwamutubarije?

**Radio Rwanda yuzuye inyenzi:**

Muri iki gihe, kugira ngo ubone



akazi kuri Radiyo Rwanda, ube umunyamakuru wayo ugomba byanze bikunze kuba umunyenduga ariko cyane cyane ukomoka i Gitarama. Ngo nibo bazi kuvuga neza ! Bitaba ibyose, ukaba umututsi, cyangwa se nibura ukaba uri mu ishyamba ry'umucyo» MDR. Kwitwa ngo uri uwo mu «kazu», niyotaho waba uhuriye nako ni icyaha gikomeye. Radio Rwanda inyenzi zahozze zita Radiyo Gatonde cyangwa se radiyo Habyarimana kuko yari yarazitanaye, ubu zarayisingiriye. Dore ko zayihigiraga kuva kera kubera ko yazirwanije bigatinda.

Mu banyamakuru ba Radiyo Rwanda huzuyemo inyenzi gusa. Ngiyo «imburagasani» Louise KAYIBANDA, ngabo ba Alfred MUKEZAMFURA, ba Faïda Ildephonse n'abandi n'utari inyenzi afatanyana zayihishe inyuma y'ishyamba rya MDR.

Ejo bundi, igihe MRND ikoreshe imyigaragambyo yerekana ko itishimiye ibyabereye ARUSHA, abumva Radio Rwanda barumiwe umunyamakuru Alfred MUKEZAMFURA, atumira gusa ibyitso by'inkotanyi aribo ba TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUGENZI, GATABAZI, ngo bagire icyo bavugaga kuri iyo myigaragambyo; MRND yayikoresheje ihezwa muri icyo kiganiro. Yagiraga ngo se ibyo byitso biwire iki rubanda itabizi ho ?

Faïda Ildephonse nawe ngo abanyaburayi (CEE) bishimiye amasezerano y'ARUSHA ! Batayishimira se inkotanyi ntizabifatiye. Akanabivugana n'inshuro nyinshi kandi mu byukuri nta nkuru irimo ku buryo ahubwo ukeka ko ari uwo munyamakuru wishimiye ayo masezerano, abanyaburayi barengana. Kuba Faïda yishimira ibyagezweho ARUSHA ni uburenganzira bwe kandi ntawe bitangaza. Nawese, umwana w'umututsi, umurakare wo ku Kibuye, uri no muri MDR, abuze iki ngo atakwishimira ubugambanyi bwabereye ARUSHA?...

Barangiza ngo imodoka za Radiyo Rwanda abigaragambyaga bazifashe ? Bari bazifata se ? Radio Rwanda nayo rwose ikwiye kuva mu maboko y'umwanzi.

Rubanda rwanarambiwe kandi umugabo Balthazar NDUWAYEZU wiyita «intumwa» ya Radiyo Rwanda ARUSHA kandi iyo urebye neza usanga ari intumwa ya NGURINZIRA, Arusha. Se ubundi NDUWAYEZU niwe munyamakuru wenyine ORINFOR igira, ntawundi yakwohereza ? Kuko ibyo NDUWAYEZU akora ntawe utabikora. Hari amakuru ahanyika ko burya amakuru Balthazar yohereza atari we uyakora, avugaga ibyo NGURINZIRA amubwiye. Ku buryo n'inkotanyi zabajije niba ntacyo apfana na NGURINZIRA. Umenya ntacyo uretse ko bose bakomoka muri Butaro, komini Inkotanyi zigaruriye.

Radiyo Rwanda nijya itangira ibiganirako byayo, ntikajye yibagirwa kwibutsa abayumva ko ari «station relais ya radio Muhabura» kugira ngo abakundaga kumva Radio Muhabura bayumve noneho neza muri F.M. nta kibazo ! None se ko «zatsinze» !

KANGURA.

## I. INTANGIRIRO Y'UBWICANYI BWA GATUTSI-NYENZI.

Kugeza mu wa 1959, u Rwanda rwategekwe n'umuco wa gihake umuntu yagereranyaga n'uwigeze kuzongera u Burundi butarajijukira demokarasi. Uwo muco wari ushingiyeho ku matwara yo guharira ibigaganyare by'Abatutsi ubwikanyize mu butegetsi no mu mibereho myiza, Abahutu bagaherera ku buhake n'ubutindi, ari ibitiyo bya gashakabuhake. Ibyo kandi byari bishingiye kuri wa muzi uzingiye ku kinyoma: ngo Gatutsi kuruta Gahutu ni umurage w'Imana udateze kuvaho.

Ku wa 24 Yuli 1959, umwami Mutara agwa i Bujumbura, umurwa mukuru w'u Burundi, apanze adasize imbuto. Ubwo rero, mu muco w'igihugu, ingoma-cyami yari izimye, kuko umwami asimburwa n'umwana we gusa. Ubwo uwo yari asize ubusa, ingoma yiwabwo yagombaga kurangirana na we. Irangira ry'iyi ngoma kandi ni ryo rangira ry'umuco wa gihake, kuko isumbwe ry'Gatutsi kuri Gahutu rishingiye ku mwami usimbuye se no kuri iryo hererekanyangoma. Ubwo rero ubuhake bwari burimbukanye n'uwabwoshyaga.

Muri uwo mwaka kandi amatwara ya demokarasi yari amaze kwamamara mu Rwanda. Ingabo za gashakabuhake zari zifite impamvu yo kwikanga ko ubwizimbe bwabwo bwari bugiye kuzisenyukana. Ni bwo buriywe inama yo gukora icyo bwabaga ngo

babigarurire mu maguru mashya: umuco w'igihugu bawucamo icyuho, ingoma bayimika mwene se w'uwapfuye kandi kizira, kuko ngo bene uwo mwami yitwaga ubucugane akazacurika u Rwanda. Uhagarariye Uburezi bw'Ababiligi abonye bamaze kumwimika apanze kubyemera. Ngo ushenye urwe umutiza umurindi.

Ntibabonye batsinze batyo barohoka, icumu bariterera ku kiganza bati: mu bakuru b'ingabo za Parmehutu ntiha gire uwunamuka. Abenshi muri bo biyaga urupfu rubi n'izo ngabo z'inkora-maraso zoherejwe nibyegera by'iyi ngirwa-mwami wari wikubiye aho bitaga ingoro ye, rubanda rwari rutegereje Repubulika nk'umukiza rwahanuriwe rwaranze kumwemera.

Ubucamanza bw'Ababiligi bufata abashoye ubwo bwicanyi, ab'ingenzi bakatirwa kunyongwa. Amahanga na LONU bibasabira imbabazi ngo barekurwe, ngo none ahari ni byo byatera Abahutu n'Abatutsi kwigorora. Ariko ahubwo biba gukoza agati mu ntozi.

Mu wa 1961 kamarampaka irarukata. Bibariza rubanda intumwa z'abibumbye zihahagaze. Parmehutu itsindira amajwi arenga 80% y'abatoye. Ni ko gutsinda uruhenu. Impundu zivugaga urwunge mu Rwanda hose, nawe Gashakabuhake

ajiginywe. Ku wa 1 Yuli indepandansi y'u Rwanda iratangwa Parmehutu ari yo iyitsindiye. Umuco wa gihake wongera gukubitwa incuro utyo, nk'uko bisanzwe icyo ugiye aho upfubirana na demokarasi.

### PUBLICITE

Itangazo rya KANGURA

Umutwe utabara Abahutu waravutse

Nk'uko twabitangaje ku rupapuro rwa 10, umutwe "Turi hose" ushinze mbere na mbere kurengera Abahutu bakomoka mu mashyamba yose. Kandi mu buryo bwose, hakoreshejwe inzira zose. Uwo mutwe witwaga "Turi hose". Ugomba gushyigikirwa na buri muhutu wifuza ko ubwoko bwe butarimburwa. Cyangwa se ngo umuco w'Abahutu wibagirane. Uwo mutwe ushobora no gukorera mu mahanga cyane cyane igihe cyo gutabara abahutu bugarijwe. Baza ibisobanuro muri KANGURA B.P. 19 Gisenyi cyangwa B.P. 1312 Kigali.

DUTEGANYE UKO TUZIRENGERA TWATEWE.



Hagati aho abakuru ba gashakabuhake, babonye rubanda rubateye agati, bashyira nzira baja kwuguruza amahanga. Ni ko kubwira bene wabo, birukanywe n'umujinya wa rubanda, bati: ntimwemere aho babatuje, ahubwo mudukurikire mu mahanga. Bari bimiriye imbere kuzatabarukana umutsindo, inkota irisha, aho kumvikana mu mahoro. Nyamara ariko abenshi mu Batutsi bagikunze ubwami bihitiramo kuguma i Rwanda. Bamwe bari bafite imigabo yo kwemera Repubulika bakinjira mu nzego zayo, abandi — batari benshi — bashakaga kuba ibyitso by'insenga-murwano zigundamye ku nkiko y'ibihugu bikikije u Rwanda.

Izo mpunzi z'insenga-bwami ntaho zitakubise zigambanira u Rwanda ngo ibihugu birukikije bihuze inama yo kurutera, ngo ejo Repubulika y'u Rwanda itazakongeza yo urumuri rwayo. Ariko, kubera ko hafi y'ibyo bihugu byose byari byahisemo kwibera Repubulika na byo, byiyemeza ahubwo kwirukana abo batarampagarara, bikurikije Itegeko-Nshingirye Afurika yibumbye ribuza ibihugu byose by'Afurika gucumbikira abatera-mpagarara bashaka kurwanya igihugu baturanye.

Karyende iba ari yo inywana na Karinga, u Burundi bwonyine buba ari bwo bwemera kwivanga muri icyo migambi y'ihembera-bwami ishyigikira gatutsi-nyenzi. icyo icyo nkingi Gashakabuhake yatewe n'u Burundi cyaje kubyara ni cyo ngye kubatekerereza.

### **GATUTSI-NYENZI YARATEYE, INGABO Z'IGIHUGU ZIMUSANGANIZAMBI.**

Mu ijoro ryakeye ku wa 21 desembri 1963 niho inkora-maraso za gatutsi-nyenzi zateye ziyahura. Ubwo bwari ubwa mirongo itanu batara kandi igihe cyose bagakubitwa incuro ababo benshi baguye ku rugamba. Ubugundirizi bwabo ariko bubatera kwongera kuza kwiyahura.

Izo ndwanyi z'intutsi zifubitse izina ry'«impunzi» zitekeye mu BURUNDI. Ni ho inteko y'inkora-maraso, bakunda kwita inyenzi, yaturutse itera inkiko y'u Rwanda rwo mu majyepfo y'i burasirazuba. Bari bageze nko ku 3.000, bitwaje imbunda, imihoro, imipanga, amacumu n'imyambi isize ubumara. Baje rwombi nk'igisambo, nta we ubikeka, ijoro ribaha akabanga, bisuka ku basirikari bako bari i GAKO.

Uko gutera batunguranye nk'igisambo kubanza kubahira. Mwumve na mwe igitero cy'abantu 3.000 kirwana n'Ingabo z'u Rwanda zitarenze 25 kandi kibatunguye. Nyamara ariko abasirikari bacu bararwana bisingira umuseke. Baganzwa n'ubwinshi, inyenzi zigaturira inkambi yubakwaga i Gako. Abahakoraga bashirira ku icumu, abasirikari bane barafatwa, bicwa urubozo n'izo nyenzi, naho abandi bakizwa

n'amaguru, bikinga mu bihuru bategereje abaza kubatiza umurindi.

Bamaze gutsinda, aho babereye, kuva mu myaka itatu bari bamaze bigerezaho, bakomeza kogoga u Bugesera bagana i Kigali. Muri icyo nzira bafashwa n'Abatutsi b'i Bugesera barimo abari barahatujwe na Leta. Ari Abahutu ari Abatutsi, ari abagore ari abagabo, ari n'abana se, uwangaga gufata intwari ngo abongere cyangwa ajye mu nkoma-kamo zibashagaye, barimwozagamo bakitambukira. Inzira yabo ni inkongi, ni ukwica no gusahura. Itegeko ribagenga ntirigira irya kabiri: gutuma rubanda rucura imiborogo: kuko icyivugaga cy'inyenzi ari Ruzirampuhwe.

Ingabo zacu zatabaranye ingoga, ziharwana urw'umuziringano, zimaze kubakubita incuro umunsi umwe uzira uwa kabiri, zisigara zirarura intumbi zishwe urupfu rubi n'izo nyanga-Rwanda. Hari abo inyenzi zari zacye amaboko cyangwa amaguru, hari abo zari zakuyemo amaso, hari abo zari zamennye umutwe zibakubita inyundo, hari abagabo z'izashahuye n'abagore zari zamennye inda. Abacitse ku icumu nibo babivuze imvaho, ureke ba bandi baboherereza ibihaha, mukabyamamaza mutazi ko ari ibinyoma. N'ubundi ga ijoro ryabara uwariraye! Bavugaga ukuntu inyenzi zagize ababyeyi bemeye Repubulika zikabaca amabere, zikayagaburira abana babo n'abagabo babo. Bavugaga ukuntu abasirikari bacu bafashwe n'abo bagome bishwe urw'agashinyaguro n'uburyo abakobwa b'Abatutsikazi babakoreye ibiteye isoni. Nta n'uwatinyuka kubirondora atariye isoni nka bo.

Ubwo kandi abandi basirikari bari baziritswe ku mipira y'amajipi y'abo bagiranabi, uko umushoferi ayirukankana akagenda abakurura inzira yose. Bapfuye bahindutse nk'amashara.

Nyamara bamwe muri abo basirikari bamaze kubohorwa n'inkubito ya bagenzi babo batabaranye ingoga iza «ngirwamfura» z'abakobwa, zivanga ubugome n'ubutwenge, zikurikiza icyo zikurikiranye mu mitego ya kinyenzi ziza gushuka abo zahemukiye ngo biyunge bundi bushya, ndetse zikandira no ku ntumwa z'ubushinja-cyaha zari zigiye gusuzuma ibyabaye. Nta wakwirirwa asobanura ibyo izo nshinzi zageragezaga kubashukisha; nyir'ukumva yamenye amarenga y'ayo magambo...

Igitangaza n'umyarwanda utarugambaniye, ni u'amaradiyo n'ibinyamateka, bidahoshwe kuvuga agahinda bitewe na rubanda witabaye, bitagize icyo bivugaga ku buho bw'abo bagira nabi, nk'aho umwotsi urumba ku nzu yahiye uba urushije ubugiranabi umuriro wayitwitse, cyangwa se nk'aho kwivugana uguteye ari byo bibi kurusha gutera utakwakuye. Uko gucurika amahame n'abantu bese, ukibasira kuzimya umwotsi wongera inkongi mu nzu ishya ngo aha

urashaka kuyizimya byatera Umunya-rwanda kwibaza niba ubwenge bw'abazungu buteye kimwe n'ubw'abirabura. Kuko, mu bwenge bwa kinyarwanda, ingirwa-bahanga z'abazungu zigeze kuvuga ko bucuritse ushaka kuzimya inzu ishya; azimya umurir uyitwika aho kurwanira kuzimya umwotsi uyicumburukamo. Iyo nzu mvuga ni ya midugararo iherutse kuba mu Rwanda. Umwotsi mwibasiye kuzimya ni umujinya rubanda rwahagurukanye rubonye rutewe. Umuriro ni bya bitero by'inyenzi byateye rubanda uwo mujinya mukaba ariko ari rwo mwibasira aho kwibasira nyirabayazana. Cyo re, nk'uko nabivugaga ko ibyari hasi byagiye hejuru, niba mu bwenge bwa kinyarwanda, umenya icyabaye urebye icyagiteye, niba umuntu wese afite uburenganzira bwo kwirengera icyo yasagarawe, umuntu yavugaga ate ko ari ko bimeze mu buhanga bwa kizungu, kandi abanyamakuru bamwe bamaze gucurika ibyo Imana yacuruye? None se hari ugucurika ubwenge kwaruta guhishira cyangwa gushima ubugome bw'inyenzi bwagasariye Abaturarwanda, ukarengaho ahubwo ukibasira gusebya abo baturage baziye zibateye? Niba ari ubugira nabi mwanga, ntimwambwira impamvu yabateye guhishira inyenzi zashoje intambara, mugatangira gusakaza aho abaturage babereye nka ya ngwe itari izi gufata ku gakanu icyo itabibwirizwa?

Ng'icyo na nyije ikibazo mbajije abifashe ku gahanga abanditsi b'amakuru bakadutuka. Ahasigaye reka twikomereze ibyo nabatekererezaga.

Ni uko, icyo gihe inyenzi zicaga, zisa n'izihiga uwitwa umuntu mu karere zigariye, abapadiri ba paruwasi ya Nyamata — zahigiraga ko ari abera, umva ko ngo ari zo zitaziza umuntu ubwoko bwe bahereye ko bahungira i Kigali. Ubwo ariko abo bavuzi-nduru babaryaga isataburenge, kuko bari barangamiye kwigarurira umurwa w'u Rwanda. Ku iteme rya KANZENZE, ku ruzi rwa NYABARONGO, muri km 25 uvuye i Kigali, niho abari bateye batangiriwe n'Ingabo z'igihugu.

Izo nyenzi bazisutse amasasu bazishora inkungu, bugoroba bazigeje hakurya y'u Rwanda, abenshi muri zo bagwa kuri urwo rugamba rw'i Bugesera.

Inyenzi zakomeje gukandira icyarimwe mu mpande nyinshi z'igihugu ziganjemo Abatutsi. Mu mitego yazo zari zateganije guterera icyarimwe inkiko zose, **kugira ngo mu misozi yose y'u Rwanda abaturage basubiranemo**, abategetsi bateterwe, abasirikari babure aho batabara n'aho bareka, maze izo nkozi z'ibibi zikubitireho gushumuriza amahanga abo zimaze gusagarira.

Mu Mutara, ahatandukanya u Rwanda n'u Buganda, inyenzi zigeze nko kuri 600.



zimaze kwihisha Leta ya Uganda, zitera ahagana i Rubirizi-Rwempasha. Zifata amajipi abiri y'Ingabo z'igihugu, abari bayarimo ariko baracika. Ntibyatinda, abasirikari bacu baratabara, bazinyukanyuka mu kanya kangana urwara. Inyinshi zigwa kuri urwo rugamba. Mu basirikari bacu hakomereka umwe. Yaje gupfa hanyuma azize ibikomere yakomerekejwe n'urufaya rw'amasasu zamurashye zimwukiye.

Mu Bugesera, ahatandukanya u Rwanda n'u Burundi, zongera gutera mu matariki ya 18, 21, 22 na 25 y'ukwa mbere, ziharanira kurimbura abaturage, ziturutse i Burundi.

Mu Bugarama, amajyepfo y'i burasirazuba bw'u Rwanda n'u Burundi, inyenzi zishyigikiye na Leta y'i Burundi, zabuteye kabiri mu ntangiriro z'ukwa kabiri. Uwakoraga kuri gasutamo n'abarinzi b'imipaka babiri barahafatirwa, bicwa urw'agashinyaguro, naho mugenzi wabo, umututsi wahoze ari igisonga, hanyuma akajya mu byitso by'inyenzi Leta y'u Rwanda itabizi, yiyambukira umupaka ajya mu Burundi hamwe na bene wabo basutsweyo n'Ingabo z'igihugu. Yari amaze ariko kubaha inzira yo kurugeramo, kwica, gusahura no gusenyerera rubanda.

Muri icyo gihe izindi nyenzi zitagira ingano — ari zo baja bita «imbabare z'impunzi z'Abatutsi» — zacaga i Kibungo ku mpaka w'u Burundi ahateganye na Perefegitura zacu za Butare, Gikongoro na Gitarama. Uko guca i Kibungo kwari amayeri yo guhuzenza no gutatanyabasirikare bacu, ngo bajye kuba ari ho buzitegera kandi zishaka gutera ahandi. Zisanga ariko Ingabo z'igihugu ziri maso kandi uwo mutego zarawutahuye kera.

Ng'uko uko iyo migabo y'inyenzi yo gukuba u Rwanda impande zose yakandagiye n'ingufu z'abasirikari bacu, izo mbasha-rugamba zibyariwe n'umurindi w'umwaga-buhake mu Banyarwanda.

### III. AKAGAMBANE K'IBYITSO N'UMUJINYA WA RUBANDA.

Reka noneho turebe ukuntu iryo tera ry'inyenzi ryari rigeretse ku bundi bugambanyi.

Umuntu yakwibanda ku bintu bine by'inyenzi:

• Icyamba mbere ni akagambane k'abakozi b'Abatutsi bahawe akazi muri Leta ari ukugira ngo yereke Abatutsi ko nabo itabanga. Ubwo bugambanyi bwagaragajwe n'ibimenyetso bya kamarampaka. Uretse ko izo nyanga-Rwanda zateranyije amafaranga yo kugurira inyenzi intwari, zari zifite n'undi muco w'uburyarya, wo kwitwaza ubwiringire abakuru babafitiye, bagakwiza ubugambo bw'insenga-murwano muri rubanda kugira ngo bategurire Leta ya Gatutsi-Nyenzi, yagombaga gushingwa ku wa 1 wa Yanwari

1964. Bamwe muri abo bagambanyi ndetse bari baremerewe kuba ba Minisitiri b'yo Leta-Nyenzi.

• Icyamba kabiri ni ukuntu itera ry'inyenzi ryibanze aho zashoboraga gusanga ibyitso by'Abatutsi ba gashakabuhake. Kandi rero koko ba rwica-ruhoze abo bababereye ibyitso.

• Icyamba gatatu cyabaye ni umwaku, ni uko inkuru yamaze gusakara mu gihugu yuko inyenzi zateye mu Bugesera, Abatutsi bamwe bakiri ba gashakabuhake barota ko basubiye ku ngoma, basinda umunezero, maze bakwiza inkuru ngo umurwa w'igihugu wafashwe n'inyenzi nabo ubwabo batangira gukangata, gukora rubanda ku itama no kubabwira ko Umwami aje kubamarira ku icumu. Nyamara ukuntu ba nyakwihemukira bari bamaze iminsi babanye neza n'Abahutu!

• Icyamba kane abanditsi b'amakuru birengagije ni uko inyenzi zafashijwe n'indiririzi z'abanyamahanga, ba gateranya-miryango babuhiriye namwe mutayobewe. Ba gica abo bahera ko basakaza impuha mu Rwanda no mu mahanga iwabo ngo mu Rwanda abaturage bakuke umutima naho mu mahanga abanditse b'amakuru ayo mahomvu bayasamirije hejuru. Ikibabaje ni uko abanyamakuru bamwe bafatiye muri uwo mutego, bakamamaza ibyo binyoma, bakabafasha batazi ibyo bakora.

Mu Rwanda icyo bene impuha bari bizeye si cyo zabyaye. Aho kugira ngo rubanda rukangarane, ruhindagare, rugonde akajosi inyenzi igateme nk'uko yabitekerezaga, Abahutu bumvise ubwo bugome bwabereye mu Bugesera, babona ko bagiye gusubira ikuzimu. Bibuka ingoyi ya Gashakabuhake, barora inkovu z'ibiboko n'ingoyi by'ingoma ntutsi, bibuka akazi n'ishiku, n'agasuzuguro, na «Nguriza umuhutu mwise sha», niko kuzinga umunya bati: nitwaba ingaruzwamuheto.

Uwo mujinya kandi icyakomezaga kuwukabura, ni uko uwahoze ari umucakara yari amaze imyaka isingira ine asogongeye ku buki bwa demokarasi, none uwo mugisha akaba agiye kuwunyagwa n'abo yemeye kwiyegezeza, abitegetswe n'abamurwaniye ishyamba, none na bo bakaba bagiye gushirira ku icumu.

Batega-rugori b'i Bufaransa, Bafaransa mwese munyumva,

Nimwibuke intambara ya ba sogokuruza banyu yo mu ka cyenda mu wa 1792 ingabo za Repubulika y'u Bufaransa zishyamiyanye n'iza cyami zari ziteye ziturutse ishyamba aho zari zahungiyeye demokarasi.

Nimwibuke uko mwarwanyije ingabo za Hitileri n'abagambanyi bazo, maze mumenyereho ubukana bw'uburakari Abanyarwanda bagiriye abafasha inyenzi z'inyanga-mubano. Inzira z'abantu zikunda gusa, bamwe basa n'abasubira mu zo abandi

banyuzemo, kandi hose bateye kimwe, aho unyuzemo none hasa n'ah'ejo. Ibyo ba sogokuruza banyu bakoze mu wa 1789 ni byo Abanyarwanda bakoze mu wa 1959. Ibyo intwari z'iwanyu zakoze zirwanyanya ibitero by'impunzi z'Abafaransa mu wa 1792 n'ibya Hitileri by'ejo bundi ni byo intwari z'i Rwanda zihurutse gukora zizitira ibitero bya Kigeli iwacu twita Kigegera. Niba rero mutugaya ko twirengeye, nimubanze mwigaye, mugaye n'abababaye. Mwavugije impuruzo yo gutsemba ubuhake bwa cyami, maze tuyitabye muradutuka?

Nyamara ariko, niba mu midugararo yo mu myijima y'ukwa cumi n'abiri 1963 no mu mboneko z'ukwa mbere 1964, amahoro yarakomeje kubaho mu gice kinini cy'u Rwanda, Abatutsi ntibapfira gushira, n'ubwo byari biruhije bwose, ayo mahoro bayakesha ubutwari bw'abategetsi; bayakesha abarwanashyamba, abajyanama, ba burugumesitiri na ba perefefe batari bagisinzira biruka imisozi ngo bapfapfanye. Bayakesha ba minisitiri bigabanyije za perefegitura uko ari icumi babwiriza rubanda gutuza. Bayakesha abapolisi b'igihugu bafashe abagambanyi n'abatera impagarara bakabashyikiriza cyangwa bakazabashyikiriza abacamanza ngo bahabwe igihano gikwiye abagambanyi.

Sinahakana ko hari perefegitura imwe muri izo cumi, ibyitso by'inyenzi byakabijemo gusesera muri rubanda no kurusembura, byamamaza imiburo, maze abaturage babonye ibyo izo ntasi zibakorera bikabarakaza, umujinya wabo ukabatera gukabya bitabara mu maguru mashya. Ni bwo ibyo byitso n'abatasi b'inyenzi bateye bisamiye hejuru n'abanzi ba Repubulika, babivuga warabyibonye ukabona ko basa n'abaca umugani. Ariko ubu umuntu wese amaze kumenya aho nyirabayazana aherereye. Izo nshoza-murwano ntizari ziyobewe ibya rubanda rwirengera ruzakora. Inyenzi zabigize zibizi. Umutege mutindi wica nyirawo.

Ikitubabaza ariko ni ukubona abavandimwe bacu b'Abatutsi bari bemeye Repubulika ariko bagafasha inyenzi ngo batagwa mu nkomati, maze bikabatera kwiterereza uburakari bw'abaturage. N'ubundi ngo abagabo bararya imbwa zikishyura!

### IV. UMUTEGO W'ABACURA-BI-NYOMA.

Abahanga mu byo gutera impagarara, bayobora izo nyenzi, bahabonyeye uburyo butagira uko busa bwo gukoresha ya mayeri yabo y'uburumira-habiri, amwe Hitileri yigeze kuvuga agira ati: umuntu nka nje aba nyamujya iyo bijya, akabeshya yumumirije, akivuguruzaga karindwi mu muni ngo abone urubanza, abanzi be akabashinja icyo yikoreye ubwe cyangwa se ashaka gukora, maze akabatanga kuvuza induru avugisha ibinyamateka na za radiyo.



Abacura-binyoma ni bo bahimbye izo mpuha zitagira ihuriro n'ibyabaye, maze abavuga amakuru bakabyamamaza bazi cyangwa se batanazi umutego ubirimo. Ibyo ari byo byose ntibari babonye umwanya wo kubisuzuma ubwabo.

Inyinshi mu mpuha zitakigira n'akiyubaho k'amazigira-soni, zituruka i Bujumbura, mu murwa w'u Burundi, wigaruriwe n'abatware b'inyenzi kandi uzira urunuka Repubulika y'u Rwanda nk'uko hose bizwi. Ni ho abatware b'inyenzi bicaye, babandi banganya uburyarya n'ubuhanga bwo kwihoma abandi. Ni ho bagize inteko, ni ho babonye ibibafasha kwamamaza mu isi yose impuha n'ibinyoma bivanze no kwirarira. Cyo re, nimumbwire, umuntu yashaka kumenya ko umugore agira umutima maze akajya kubibaririza kwa mukeba we?

Ngiyo imwe mu masoko abanyamakuru bavomyemo, bajya kwamamaza ibyo bise «urupfu rw'Abatutsi batanzwe n'abategetsi b'u Rwanda cyangwa bakaba batakomakomye». Abo banyamakuru ntibavuze ukuntu gatutsi-nyenzi yateye n'abo yishe urw'agashinyaguro. Ariko bagera ku muturarwanda bagashya batanzitse. Impamvu ni iyihe? Iragaragara: ni uko kugeza ubu bumwise urw'umwe, mukeba wa Kanyarwanda ari we Nyakarundi inyenzi zakeje akaba ari we ubahora mu nsina y'ugutwi.

## V. IBYO BITA MURIMBURA INYOKO-NTUTSI.

Ng'icyo icyatumye bimwe mu binyamakuru byo mu mahanga bitihakabanga igihe bivugaga «ibihumbi by'Abatutsi bagwa mu Rwanda buri muni» n'amatwara ya Leta ya Kayibanda yo «gutsemba inyoko-ntutsi». Kugira ngo, turebe aho ukuri guherereye, reka dusesengurire hamwe ibyo abo banyamakuru bavuze batagize n'itanga mugabo bagerekaho.

Hari ibinyamateka n'amaradiyo yishakira amakuru y'inshamugongo byavuze ko mu mahanga hari impunzi z'Abatutsi 150.000 n'uko kuva aho imidugararo yatangiye hagenda hapfa Abatutsi 8.000 buri muni. Iyo nkuru kandi yavuzwe ukwezi kwa mbere kujya gushira. Umuntu abishyize mu mibare agasanga rero hamaze gupfa Abatutsi 320.000.

Nyamara mbere ya novembri 1959, Abatutsi bose hamwe bari nka 350.000. Uwakurama 150.000 byimukiye mu mahanga hasigara 200.000. Niba rero ukwezi kwa mbere 1964 kwarashize twishe Abatutsi 320.000 ni ukuvuga ko kuva muri desembri 1963 kugeza muri Yanyuari 1964 twaremeye Abatutsi 120.000 bo kwica... Dusigaye ga turusha Imana gukora ibitangaza!

Ibindi binyamakuru biyakura i Bujumbura, iyo soko itavomwamo ibirohwa da, havuzwe imibare yivuguruzwa ubwayo: bivugaga ko hapfuye «Abatutsi 60.000;

18.000; 16.000; 10.000 bari bemeye Repubulika». Naho umuvugizi wa Leta-Ndundi, urusha abandi kureba no kujijukirwa n'ubumenyi bw'isi, avugaga ko hari intumbi z'Abatutsi 8.000, Abahutu bajugunye muri Nyabarongo, intumbi zabo bazireba mu ruzi rwa Rusizi. Nyamara hagati ya Nyabarongo iyo na Rusizi hari imisozi miremire igiye urunana bita impinga ya Kongo-Nili. Maze se izo ntumbi zageze zite muri Rusizi? Zabanje se guterera impinga Nyabarongo iturukamo? Ahari aho ga Perezida Kayibanda yategetse amazi y'isoko ya Nili guteshwa inzira igana inyanja ya Mediterane kugira ngo abanze ageze intumbi z'Abatutsi mu ruzi rwa Kongo na rwo ruzazishyikirize inyanja ya Atlantika! Icyo se si igitangaza cy'uburumira-habiri?

Nyamara ariko icyo gihe intumwa z'ubushinja-cyaha bw'i Bujumbura, ... yapfa gukoka ko zo zavugaga imvaho, zemezaga ko zoherejwe na Leta-Ndundi gukora anketi neza, zikabona intumbi 7 gusa: Umuntu se yakwemera ibihe: ari ibivugwa na Radiyo y'inkwiza-rubwa ari n'ibivugwa n'Ubucamanza bw'i Burundi?

Ubwo imidugararo imaze gushira, rubanda bakaba bamaze gutuza, umuntu yashobora kugera ku mibare icishiriza ukuri. Hari abantu benshi bari baciriwe urupfu none baraboneka ku mugaragaro, Urugero nabaha ni ba Bwana Rugira na Gitera, Radiyo y'i Burundi yari yaketse ivuga ko babonye intumbi zabo muri Rusizi. Nyamara icyo gihe Gitera nta n'icyamuhungabanyaga, yari yibereye mu matafari ya ... Rugira twari kumwe mu Nteko Nkuru y'Amategoko tujya impaka. Hahise akanya mbona aje kwibika ambwira ko yapfuye Leta y'i Burundi igatora intumbi ye muri Rusizi. Ingero ni nyinshi zimeze nk'izo. Nakomeza kuzirondora bwakwira bugacya.

Aho amahoro agarukiye, Inyenzi zimaze gutsindwa ruhenu, bashoboye kubarura abapfuye bagera ku mubare wenda kugera kuri 870. Mu mibare ihinnye umuntu yavugaga ko hapfuye abantu igihumbi. Ahari aho uwo mubare nturi bwemerwe, kuko atari inkuru y'insha-mugongo. None se ko ibinyoma bikwekwetuye ari byo bisigaye byarahwe intebe!

Ibyo ari byo, byose, n'abo dusanga ari benshi cyane, iyo twibutse ko abo bantu bari bafite uburenganzira bwo kwiberaho, kandi rero baba bakiriho iyo abatware b'inyenzi badashyigikirwa na Leta-Ndundi ngo bakomeze guhanga bene wabo ngo babone ibyo baregesha Repubulika y'u Rwanda. Erega n'ubundi ngo umukunzi w'impyi niwe irya mbere!

## VI. IBYO BISE AMARERE YO GUTSEMBA INYOKO-NTUTSI.

Naho ibyo bise amatwara yo «gutsemba inyoko-ntutsi», nta n'uwakwirirwa abikurikirana mu mvugo y'ababyamamaje

kuko bose bihaye kubivugaga nta n'itanga mugabo bageretseho. Umuntu yababigishubizwa kibakwiye atiriwe azimbura.

Icyabibemeza ko ari impuha ni uk mwaba mwariboneye ubwanyu umwet abategetsi ba Repubulika bakoranye kugira ngo barengere amahoro yari amaz gukangwa n'itera ry'inyenzi zihurika. Ni uk mwajya kwirebera ubwanyu icyo uwo mwet wabyaye: Mwasanga amahoro aganj impande zose. Mwasanga abari bahungiy muri za paruwasi baragaruwe iwabo bakababanyeye neza n'abo bahoze baturanye n mbere. Mwakwibariza ingano y'imfashany zitabarika zatanze na Leta y'u Rwanda n'amahanga ngo zitabare izo mbabar z'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Mwakwibere ukuntu abaturage b'amoko yose babanyeye, ari mu mugi ari no mu byaro, ari muri Leta ari no mu mibanire y'abaturage ubwabo. Ariko yenda bene ibyo bintu by'imvaho ntibyamamamwe agahinda kuko bitarimo umwiyamamazo uhagije n'inkuru y'inshamugongo.

Kugira ngo mbamare agahinda, noneho reka twigane imvugo ihanze, turebe ibyo Leta ya Repubulika yakoresheje kugira ngo igere ku cyo bise politiki y'«inzira-bwoko kandi y'insemba-batutsi». Byaba byiza ariko tubanje kugereranya ubutegetsi bw'igitutsi-gihake bwa kera n'ubwa demokarasi ya Repubulika bw'ubu mu byerekeye isumbanya ry'amoko ngo turebe inzira bwoko z'ukuri aho zihereye.

## Politike y'isumbanya-moko mu butegetsi bwa gashakabuhake.

«Mu bihugu bitegekwa cyami cya gashakabuhake by'u Rwanda n'u Burundi, imibanire y'abantu mu bya politiki vari ishingiyeye ku cyemezo cy'ubusumbane budasubirwaho bw'abantu. Abategoka bagafata abategokwa nk'abana, abategokwa nabo bakumvira nk'ibitambambuga. Abategokaga banenaga abategokwa, bavugaga ko babarusha ubwoko kuko babaga ari abo mu muryango w'Abatutsi... Twabonye ko u Rwanda rugizwe n'amoko atatu (Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa). Hari ubusumbane burebure mu ruhare buri bwoko bwari bufite ku butegetsi. Ubwo busumbane bwari bushingiyeye ku mvugo yemeza ubusumbane bw'ubushobozi abantu bavukana... Niba Naka w'Umuhutu ari umunyabwenge akaba n'itwari kimwe n'Umututsi, ntibyamubuzaga kuguma uko yavutse. Icyo barebaga si ukugira ubushobozi. n'ubutwari bw'umuryango usumbaye indi, ahubwo kuwuvukiramo ni byo byari bifite agaciro. Ibyo byabaga bihagije kugira ngo umuntu abone uruhare rusumbaye urw'abandi kandi agire uburenganzira butagira ihuriro n'ubw'abavutse ahandi».

Ubwo bukomajuru bw'ubwoko-tutsi bwibwirwa ko buruta ubundi bwose kuko Imana yabahaye kamere ihatse izindi,



tubusanga mu mico ya gihake yose. Umugabo natanga ni aya mabango nkuye mu gisigo Singayimbaga yahimbye mu wa 1870:

«Ubwami bugira ubwoko, bwoko bw'Imana!

Rurema yaragutuye iguteramo imizi y'ubutegetsi!

Ibyihutire bitaremanywe ubwo burenganzira bw'amavuko

Iyo Ntore yahiriwe yabimariye ku icumu

Kalinga itamiriza amashaku yabyo...

Imigisha y'ubwami izingiyeye ku nzu yawe, wowe Muhire!

Amahanga yose yahogojwe n'ubupfakazi yayateye.

Yayatsembeye abami, ingabe ze zitamiriza amashahu yabo!

Agahinda k'ingabo zabo se si yo mahirwe y'ingabo ze?».

Igihe Abahutu n'Abatutsi baburaniye i Nyanza mu rubanza rwamamaye rwo mu wa 1959, abagaragu bakuru b'ibwami bavugiraga bene wabo, hari itangazo rikomeye boherereje Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu, yari intutsi kimwe na bo. Bamaze kuvuga ko uburenganzira bw'Abatutsi bwo kwiharira ubutegetsi bushingiye kuko ari ibikomajuru na bo Abahutu bakaba ibikomataka by'ingaruzwamuheto, barakomeza bati:

«Ubwu ari uko byari bimeze kugeza ubu, umuntu yakwibaza aho Abahutu bashingiye baka umunani mu bya Kanyarwanda.

Abagabana iminani ni abafitanye isano. Kandi rero isano yacu, twe bwe Abatutsi n'Abahutu, ishingiyeye ku buhake, kuva kera kugeza ubu. Nta buvandimwe na busa rero dutitanye n'Abahutu...

Ubwu abami bacu bigaruriye ibihugu by'Abahutu, bamaze kwica abahinza babo, bagahaka Abahutu, ubungubu abo Bahutu bashobora bate kwiyita abavandimwe bacu».

Umutwe w'ishyamba ryitwa Lunari, wari uteraniwemo n'ingufu zose za gashakabuhake kandi ukiyita uw'Abashyirahamwe b'u Rwanda ngo ukunde wemerwe, wabaye ugushingwa wandika mu Itegeko-Nshinga ryawo aya mahame yabo y'insumbanyamoko ngo:

«N'ubwo u Rwanda rugizwe n'abantu bafite agaciro gasumbanye cyane bwose kandi bikaba bidakwiye guha agaciro kamwe umutindi w'igicucu (umuhutu) n'imfura ijijutse (umututsi); n'ubwo itora rya rubanda rose rizatuma injiji nyinshi (abahutu) zijya hejuru y'abanyabwenge bake (abatutsi), kwima Abahutu n'Abahutu uburenganzira bumwe (mu magambo) jiriko

wihutire gupfukirana ubucucu n'ubugambanyi bw'yo nyoko (abahutu) itarusha inyamaswa ubwenge.»

Dore mu magambo make icyo iryo hame ry'insumbanyamoko ryari ryarabyaye mu Rwanda:

- Abatutsi ba gashakabuhake bari barishe iyo mbaga y'Abahutu urupfu n'agashinyaguro.
- Abahutu ntibagiraga ubahagararira mu nama z'ubutegetsi zashyizweho n'ubutegetsi bw'Ababiligi.
- Abahutu ntibagiraga ubahagararira mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu.
- Abana b'isuka, bene Gahutu, ntibagiraga uburenganzira bwerekeye ibya politiki, kuko ngo batashoboraga gutegeka kuko baremewe guhakwa.
- Abahutu bazizwe n'ubuhake ntibagiraga uruhare na busa ku bucamanza, kuko ngo nta bwenge bwo guca imanza bagira.
- Abana b'Abatutsi bari bihariye amashuri yisumbuye n'amakuru, umuhutu agasora ariko umwana we agaheze mu mashuri.
- Imfura ntutsi nizo zari zihariye amasambu n'ibikingi kandi Gahutu ari we wakomeze ishyamba.

Abatutsi se ko bari bamaze kwikubira ubutegetsi n'amasoko yose y'ubukire bw'igihugu, Umuhutu w'umukama-suka we yari asigaye ku ki? Icyo yari asigaye na we yihariye ni bwa buhanga bwavuzwe na Villon na Grégoire ngo «Abatindi umunani wabo ni imvune n'ubwinazi».

Ngicyo icyo ibyo bigaganyare byakoze Ubu biribuka ijuru byahanuweho, umujinya wabiterura bikaturega icyaha byakoze: politiki y'insumbanyamoko. Reka turebe niba ikirego cyabo gifite ishingiro.

**Ubutegetsi buriho ubu bwanga uburyamirane mu moko.**

Ushaka kumenya politiki y'igihugu, agomba kwitegereza ingingo z'ingenzi zizingiye mu Itegeko-Nshinga ryacyo. Tumaze kubona ko ubwiru bwa Leta ntutsi yari ishingiyeye ku muco wa gihake bwemezaga ko Gatutsi yaremewe kuruta Gahutu; ariko iyo uroye Itegeko-Nshinga rya Repubulika y'u Rwanda, ryaturutse ku ntambara abayobozi babonera abaturage barwanye bakotanira kwishyira ukizana, ubudasumbana n'ubuvandimwe bw'Abanyarwanda bose, usanga ryibanda cyane cyane ku ingingo ziteye nk'izi:

«Umuntu ni inzira-karengane ku giti cyo. Arengerwa na Leta.

Umuntu wese afite ububasha bwo kugaragaza imimerere ye n'ibitekerezo bye, apfa gusa kutagira uwo arenganya, cyangwa se ngo ahungabanye umudendeko wa rubanda no kudaca ku byo amategeko Abaturage bose bafite uburenganzira bwo kureshya imbere y'itegeko bidashingiye ku nkomoko, ku bwoko, ku ibara ry'umuntu, ku

gitsina cyangwa idini.

Ubwizimbe bushingiye ku moko buraciwe, kandi ntibushobora gusubizwaho.

Nta n'ubundi busaba, ubwo ari bwo bwose, bushobora gushyirwaho. Umuco wose wa kija uraciwe, ntushobora no gusubizwaho. Umuntu wese afite uburenganzira bwo kubaho, bwo kwishyira akizana, bwo kudahohoterwa».

Ntihabura ugira ati: imvugo si yo ngiro, kuko ibyanditse mu Itegeko-Nshinga bitabuza Leta ya Kayibanda kugira ubwoko yanga no gushaka gutsemba igitsina-tutsi. Reka turebe ishingiro ry'icyo kirego.

*Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...*

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Kugarura mu gihugu cye impunzi z'Abatutsi 178.000 nyuma y'imidugararo yabanjirije ubwigenge n'abandi 9.600 bari bahunze itera ry'inyenzi riheruka, ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Leta ya Kayibanda iregwa?

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Kurengera impunzi ukaziha ibizitunga by'amoko yose ugereranyije ububabara bwazo n'ubukungu Leta ifite nk'uko byagenze mu gihe gishize ni ko gutsemba impunzi z'Abatutsi abategetsi ba Repubulika y'u Rwanda baregwa?

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Gutegeka rubanda rw'Abahutu rwo mu misozi kubakira Abatutsi hutihuti basenyewe na bene wabo b'inyenzi n'ibytso byazo ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Abahutu bavugwa?

*Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...*

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Gukuraho uburyamirane bw'abaturage bwari bwarashyizweho n'ubutegetsi bwa karande ku gihe cy'ubuhake ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi turegwa? Na none umwana wihariye imbehe iyo bamubwiye gusangira n'abandi abona ko bamwishe.

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Kudendeza amahoro abantu bakishyira bakizana, gutuma abantu bose babona uruhare rubakwiye, kubahiriza ubuvandimwe bw'abaturage bose utibanze ku kantu aka n'aka, bikamara umwaka n'igice kuva aho ubwigenge bugereye mu gihugu; gukomeza ayo matwara igihe cyose Leta-Ndundi itashyigikiye inyenzi ngo izitere inkunga yo kwiyahura zibeshya ngo ziratera, ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Leta ya Kayibanda iregwa?

*Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...*

Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Gutora ba burugumesitiri mu Batutsi, gushyiraho abakozi bakuru n'abato ba Leta,

1. Iki kinyarwanda ni igihindurano cy'icyo gisigo cyatangajwe mu gifaransa.

2. Iryo tangazo turifite mu gifaransa. Aya magambo rero ni amahindurano y'igifaransa mu kinyarwanda.



b'Abatutsi, gusanga mu biro bya Leta abakozi b'Abatutsi bageze kuri 40% by'abakozi bese b'igihugu kandi Abatutsi bese batarenga 14% by'abaturage bese ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi? Ubwo tugawa kuba twarahaye akazi Abatutsi bangana batyo kandi twarabatsinze, ahari aho iyo tubirukana ububasubiza aho bari baradushyize niho twajyaga gushimirwa ko tudashaka kubatsemba.

*Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...*  
Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?  
Uwanga Abatutsi abanga ate?

Kureba ubuyobozi bw'Ubushinja-cyaha ukabushinga Porokireri w'Ikirenga w'Umututsi ngo aje ashidikira umugome wese abacamanza b'u Rwanda bagwiriye Abatutsi, ni ko gutsemba Abatutsi Leta ya Kayibanda iregwa? Leta y'u Rwanda yibasiye inyoko-ntutsi, iteranya amoko ngo Abatutsi bashire maze irarenga ireba Umucamanza w'Ikirenga w'Umututsi iba ari we ishingira kuyobora abagenewe guhanisha abacyiye kuri iri tegeko ryashyirirwaho kurwanya abateranya amoko ngo:

«Umuntu wese uzagaragaraho ko yanze undi amuhora ubwoko cyangwa inzira akomokamo, cyangwa se uzagira icyo akora gishobora gutera bene iza nzangano z'amoko azahanishwa gufungwa iminsi iva ku kwezi ikagera ku mwaka n'ihazabu itarenga amafaranga 3.000 cyangwa se kimwe muri ibyo bihano?»

*Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...*  
Utsemba abantu abatsemba ate?

Leta ya Repubulika yatoye Abatutsi ishyira mu bapoliisi, itora abandi ishyira mu basirikari, umwe muri bo amaze kugororerwa kuba kapiteni ukurikira komanda w'Ingabo z'igihugu kubera ubutwari yerekanye ahinda ibitero bya gatutsi-nyenzi. Ubwo se Leta ya Repubulika ni ko yashatse kumara Abatutsi ibicisha bene wabo bari mu bapoliisi n'abasirikari?

*Ushaka inka aryama nka zo...*

Leta ya KAYIBANDA yashatse ite gutsemba inyoko-ntutsi kandi ikarenga yajya kuyihera urubiruko amashuri ikarukurira inyuma?

Mu mashuri yisumbuye hari Abatutsi 30% n'Abahutu 70%; mu mashuri makuru hari Abatutsi 70% n'Abahutu 30%; nyamara mu baturage bese Abatutsi ni 14% ku Bahutu 85%. Umva ako karengane!

Yenda hari uwagira ati: ubwinshi bw'Abatutsi mu mashuri makuru babuhawe n'uko atari Leta y'u Rwanda itegeka ayo mashuri. Namubabwira ko hafi ya bese muri abo banyeshuri, bishyurirwa n'amafaranga ya Repubulika cyangwa ayo Repubulika ihabwa n'intererano ihabwa n'ibihugu biyikunda.

Nabasubiza ko Universiti y'u Rwanda yatangiye i Butare (ahahozwe hitwa Astrida) mu kwa cumi k'umwaka ushize yatangiranye

abanyeshuri 51, barimo Abahutu 25 n'Abatutsi 26. Ng'uko uko Repubulika y'u Rwanda isumbanya amoko.

Ingero zimeze nk'izo ntizigira umubare. Ariko ubwo bupfura bwa kibyezi bubabwirira aho guhora Leta n'abaturage b'u Rwanda bagira ntibabushimwa. Ahubwo abagiriye iyo neza ni bo babitura kubabeshyera, kubateza urubwa no kubagambanira.

Nyir'amatwi yo kumva arumve: urengera inyenzi ntazibagiriye ko inyiturano azitezeho ari bene iyo. Inkoni ikubise mukeba uyirenza urugo.

## VII. REKA DUSOZE TUREBA UKO UMUNTU YATEGANYIRIZA IMINSI IZAZA.

Umaze kumva ibi na we yareba icyo akwiye kubikuramo. Dore jye uko mbibona:

Mu minsi yashize, mu Rwanda habaye imidugararo ibabaje kandi ikomeye, itewe n'ibitero by'inyenzi-ntutsi. Abihaye kubivuga no kubisobanura babivuze uko bitari, bakabyoshywamo n'inyota bafitiye amakuru atangaje; maze ba bahanga mu itera ry'impagarara bakaboneraho kugira ngo bakurikize ya nzira y'uburumira-habiri, bagashuka amahanga atazi imvaho kugira ngo bayakamishe, bakaba intumwa z'inkwiza-binyoma kandi no kuba barariye isoni bikabaha uburenganzira bwo kuvuga icyo babonye cyose cyatuma bemerwa n'ababumva.

Ubu ngubu imidugararo yarahosheje. Tubikesha umwete n'ingoga abategetsi ba Repubulika babishyizemo. Ariko abagome nyabo, ba nyirabayazana, abatware b'izo nyenzi bashyigikiye na Leta y'i Burundi, barakomeza kwamamaza mu mahanga ko Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda bari mu kaga, kugira ngo nibabona ayo mahanga abitayeho babone icyo bitsitsaho bajya kongera guteza indi ntambara ubu bategurira i Burundi cyangwa ahandi. Iyo nzira yose kandi intwari yabo ni ubugambo, ni impuha ni ingumba y'ikinyoma.

Aho rero ni ho umuntu wese wavutse neza, ukunda ubutabera, agakunda amahoro no kunga abantu aho kubateranya, akwiye kureba uko iminsi izaza ikwiye guteganyirizwa. Abapfuye twese turabwirira, ariko iyo si impamvu yo kuzabakurikiza abandi. Niba amahanga rero akomeje gushukwa akarengera ubugome bw'abo bagira-nabi, aho kubacamura nk'abamaze kubamenya bese, byatuma iminsi izaza yarushaho kuba mibi, kuko ubabariye abagome aba abaye nk'uboshya kongera kubyutsa iyo midugararo iduteye intimba twese.

Ikiruta ku muntu ukunda Abatutsi by'ukuri, ni ugushaka inzira yo gutambamira ubwo bunyenzi ababyeyi bagize indahiro. Kandi rero iyo nzira ni imwe rukumbi: ni ukurangiza rwose ikibazo cy'izo mpunzi z'Abatutsi, kugira ngo zibone aho zitura

kandi zitunganirwa. Aho batura ni habiri bakwihitiramo: hari ukugaruka mu Rwanda, ariko bamaze kuva ku izima batazanywe no kurugaruka umuheto; hari se kubatwira burundu mu bindi bihugu by'Afurika, ahategereye u Rwanda, ahantu batabona uburyo-bwo kongera kuza kurwiyahuraho.

Uwo muti — wo kubagarura mu Rwanda mu mahoro cyangwa kubatwira mu mahanga burundu — waba nyawo habonetse ibintu bibiri nakwita simusiga:

- Icyamba mbere ni uko Leta y'i Burundi yareka kubafasha no kuboshya ibaha aho bigira imyitozo yo kurwana cyangwa ibatiza inzira zo kwamamaza ibinyoma byabo;
- Icyamba kabiri ni ugutambamira abatware babo mu burara bafite bwahimbye ubwo bunyenzi kandi bukaba bukomereza gushuka impunzi. Bazihinduye ingabo yabo ya politiki kuko ari yo yonyine basigaranye, bazibura kugira undi muti bemera wabavura akaga barimo, atari ugusubira ku butegetsi bya kiboko. Baribwirira bibeshya. Aho demokarasi yageze ikahatsimburwa n'ubuhake ni hehe mu Rwanda hakaba aha kabiri?

Igihe cyose Abatutsi bataranywe uwo muti wo kubarutsa ubunyenzi, ibyo bitere by'inyenzi bizahora ari Rwamukire yo gutsemba Abatutsi, yo guhungabanya amahoro no kubuza amoko atuye i Rwanda kuzagira ubwo yumvikana. Ariko ubwo bunyenzi buramutse buvanyweho ubutagaruka, abategetsi ba Repubulika bakwereka amahanga imihigo yabo yo kuboneza mu Rwanda ubumvikane butagira amakemwa bw'amoko yose arutuye.

Sinarangiza ntasabye abashinzwe kumenyesha rubanda amakuru, gukurikiza amatwara basanganywe yo gushyira imbere amahoro mu bantu, bagaha u Rwanda umusanzu wo gutsemba ubunyenzi busigaye ari bwo nkomyi ibuza Abahutu n'Abatutsi gusabana batishishana.

Niba ibyo amahanga yabeshywe ku itera ry'inyenzi rihuruka bikomeje gutuma ayo mahanga azibabarira, akaba yazitiza imigabo yo kongera kuza kwiyahura, bizagira inkurikira iteye ubwoba ikazazihama hamwe n'abazoshya. Naho nibituma iyo nkeke y'ubwiyahuzi bw'impunzi ishira burundu, bizaba bigaruriye Abanyarwanda bese, cyane cyane Abatutsi, amahoro atazagira ikiyahungabanya. Ayo marere yo gushoza intambara agifitwe n'Abatutsi b'impunzi ni yo nenge nyina w'izindi, ibuza abantu kwishyira bakizana, igakanga ubudasumbana n'umuco wa kivandimwe Abanyarwanda bahuje n'Abafaransa.

Parisi, ku wa 3 marsi 1964

Perezida w'Inteko Nkuru y'Amategeko,  
Anastase MAKUZA.